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Obraz duševních onemocnění v tištěných médiích ve třech středoevropských zemích

The picture of mental illness in the print media in three central European countries

Doktorská disertační práce

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Abstrakt

Pro veřejnost představují média nejdůležitější zdroj informací o duševních onemocněních. Je známo, že mediální prezentace lidí s duševními poruchami jsou často negativní a přispívají tak k jejich stigmatizaci. Na druhou stranu, média mohou hrát významnou roli při snižování míry stigmatizace, a to poskytováním adekvátních informací o tomto tématu a zapojováním se do antistigmatizačních kampaní. Až dosud nebyl vyvinut žádný standardizovaný nástroj k měření stigmatizace duševních onemocnění v tištěných médiích, který by používal operacionalizované definice. V rámci našeho projektu jsme si stanovili dva cíle: a) vytvoření standardizovaného a objektivního nástroje k měření stigmatizace duševních onemocnění v tištěných médiích, b) provedení analýzy obsahu mediálních sdělení o duševních onemocněních ve vztahu ke stigmatizaci v českém, chorvatském a slovenském tisku. Vytvoření nástroje „Picture of Mental Illness in Newspapers“ (PICMIN) bylo založeno na principech obsahové analýzy, což je výzkumná technika umožňující vyvozování platných a replikovatelných závěrů z textu. Uvedený nástroj se skládá z jedenácti popisných a pěti analytických kategorií. V rámci naší studie jsme došli k těmto závěrům: ve všech třech zemích bylo zjištěno vysoké zastoupení článků se stigmatizujícím obsahem, v četnosti uvádění stigmatizujících obsahů dominoval bulvární tisk, články s vyšším počtem slov mají menší stigmatizační potenciál. Schizofrenie a poruchy příjmu potravy jsou ve článcích zastoupeny více, než odpovídá jejich skutečné prevalenci ve sledovaných zemích, naopak úzkostné poruchy a demence jsou zastoupeny méně. Mezi největší prediktory pozitivního vyznění článku patří uvedení názoru odborníka na duševní zdraví nebo odkaz k vědeckému výzkumu. Sdělení uvádějící duševní poruchy v souvislosti s agresivitou tvořily třetinu všech článků. Vražda byla nejčastěji uváděna v souvislosti s psychotickými poruchami, zatímco afektivní poruchy byly nejčastěji spojovány s dokonanou sebevraždou. Velká většina článků vztahujících se k násilí popisovala osoby s duševním onemocněním jako pachatele. Mediální prezentace duševních onemocnění se v jednotlivých zemích do značné míry liší, ale je obecně nízké kvality. Již bylo zahájeno několik aktivit, které by měly upevnit spolupráci mezi odborníky v oblasti duševního zdraví a novináři (např. poskytování rozhovorů do tisku, oslovení novinářů prostřednictvím tiskové konference, cena za nejkvalitnější článek týkající se problematiky duševního zdraví). Cílem je zlepšit způsob prezentace tematiky duševního zdraví v médiích, minimalizovat potenciální diskriminační praktiky a podpořit tak osoby s duševním onemocněním ve vyhledávání odborné pomoci.

Klíčová slova: duševní zdraví, duševní onemocnění, stigmatizace, tištěná média, obsahová analýza, odpovědná žurnalistika

Abstract

Media are considered to be the public's primary source of information regarding mental illness. Evidence suggests that media representations of people with psychiatric disorders are frequently negative and contribute to their stigmatization. On the other hand, media can play an important role in reducing this stigmatisation by providing adequate information about this topic and engaging in antistigma campaigns. Up to now there was no standardised measurement of the stigma of mental illness in print media using clearly operationalized definitions. The objectives of this project were twofold; to develop a standardised and objective instrument to measure stigma of mental illness in print media; and to conduct an analysis of the current coverage on mental health/illness issues in Czech, Croatian, and Slovak print media. The development of the Picture of Mental Illness in Newspapers (PICMIN) instrument was based on the principles of content analysis, a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from text to the context in their use. The instrument consists of eleven descriptive and five analytical categories. The most interesting findings based on the analysis of media representations of mental illness were; a similarly high level of stigmatizing articles across countries, clearly exceeding the ones with destigmatizing statements; domination of tabloids in stigmatizing content; longer articles having much lesser stigmatizing potential; overrepresentation of schizophrenia and eating disorders and underrepresentation of anxiety disorders and dementia when comparing the correlation of their actual rate in the populations; the greatest predictor of positive outcome being a reference from a scientific survey and from a mental health professional; homicide being most frequently mentioned in the context of psychotic disorders, while affective disorders being most frequently associated with completed suicides; the proportion of articles depicting mental disorders together with aggressive deeds constituting one-third of all articles; the vast majority of articles with violent content presenting mentally ill people as perpetrators. Coverage of mental health/illness issues differs to large extent across countries, but is generally of poor quality. Several activities that should tighten together the mental health and media professionals have already been initiated (e.g. interviews have been given to the newspapers, journalists have been approached via press conferences, a prize for the best article on the issue of mental health/illness in the print media) in an ultimate effort to improve media coverage of mental illness issues, thus minimizing potential discriminatory practices and increasing help-seeking behavior.

Key words: mental health, mental illness, stigmatization, print media, content analysis, responsible journalism

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1. Theoretical background

1.1. Introduction

The print media rank among the essential and constituent institutions of modern society (Marada, 2002). From the beginning their significant role in influencing public attitudes and opinions was pointed out, and considered to be a major benefit as well as a danger (Jirák & Köpplová, 2003). In particular, this danger may become explicit in covering less usual topics where the media are the main source of information for the public and the data which prevail in such messages are not controlled by the audience's personal experience or previous knowledge.

Broadcast and print media are considered to be the public's primary source of information regarding mental health/illness (Anderson, 2003; Hannigan, 1999; Philo et al., 1994). Media tend to mention this issue with surprising frequency (Coverdale et al., 2002). Cutcliffe and Hannigan (2001) state that hardly a week passes without the subject of mental illness being mentioned in the mass media. The recurrent theme of mental disorders in the media and the way it is presented, affects the shaping of the social representation of the mentally ill in the society. Subsequently, the nature of the social representation of individuals with a mental disorder influences public attitudes towards them (Hewstone & Stroebe, 2001).

In addition, some studies suggest that people tend to be more influenced by the media coverage of mental disorders than by their personal experience of them (Rose, 1998). In view of these circumstances, experts worldwide began inquiring about the nature of the media portrayal of mental disorders and the impact of such a portrayal on the community and the mentally ill themselves.

1.2. The media's influence on the public

Most of the recent literature agrees that the media have an impact on their audiences, as well as that it is difficult to prove this impact by experiments, mainly because the media

are such an integral part of society that it is practically impossible to distinguish their influence from other external factors. Although not supported by evidence, the assumed effects of the media include changes in the audiences' attitudes, thinking, and experiencing, and in bringing up certain issues of interest (Burton & Jiráček, 2001; Jiráček & Köpplová, 2003).

Opinions on the power and the nature of the media have developed over time. This chapter provides a summary of the most influential socio-psychological theories of the media's effects.

The initial view of the media having an unlimited influence on its audiences has been replaced by the present notion that the influence is bidirectional and involves both the media and its audience (McQuail, 2009). The "stimulus-response model", also referred to as the "hypodermic needle theory" or the "magic bullet theory", can be considered one of the first of these theories. Based on behaviourism, the model assumes that communication takes place in three basic sequences: (a) individual messages; (b) individual receivers, and (c) responses. According to this model, an intended message is directly received and wholly accepted by the receiver. Thus, it is believed that mass communication has an unlimited power to shape and change public opinion in the ways its creator wishes it to have (DeFleur & Ballová-Rokeachová, 1996; McQuail, 2009).

McGuire suggested a total of six sequential steps - (a) attention, (b) liking, (c) comprehension, (d) yielding, (e) remembering, and (f) action by adding mediating conditions (source, message, channel, receiver, and destination) to this model. Having enhanced the original stimulus-response theory by means of the source-receiver relationship, French and Raven introduced five alternative forms of a communication relationship in which the sender exercises power and the receiver accepts being influenced (Raven & Bertram, 1992). For example, in a communication relationship with referent power, the receiver is more likely to adopt the information being presented, as they find the source of such information attractive and identify with it on an emotional basis, while in a communication relationship with expert power, the receiver accepts the information because they consider the sender an expert (Jiráček & Köpplová, 2003; McQuail, 2009).

Bandura's Social Learning Theory is based on the assumption that people cannot learn everything they need for their own development and behavior through direct observation and experience only, but also need to draw from indirect sources, including media messages, by means of language and symbolic information (Bandura & Walters, 1963). Thus, people also learn to live in their social reality by adopting behavioural models which they see in the media (DeFleur & Ballová-Rokeachová, 1996). Building on Bandura's theory, the "socialisation theory" developed by Rosengren and Windahl explains the media's effects on the audience in the context of socialisation. It posits that the media constantly offer scenes from life and behavioural models which precede real experience (Rosengren & Windahl, 1997). Thanks to their socialisation effects, they can help people learn norms and values through symbolic rewards and punishments for a range of behaviors presented by the media (McQuail, 2009).

The "cultivation theory" of Gerbner et al. provides an integrated approach to the effects of the media. The cultivation theory model is based on the assumption that the media's influence is long-term but cumulative (Gerbner, 1969). The information received from the media gradually creates beliefs concerning the nature of the social world which correspond to a stereotypical, distorted, and selective perspective of reality presented by the media on a systematic basis. The notion of gradual cumulative quality and the process of interaction between messages and the audience make this model different from the direct stimulus-response process (McQuail, 2009).

The "social construction of reality theory" perceives both the media and its audiences as variables determining the effect of the media's operation. It postulates that, to a certain extent, the media themselves rely on their audiences and, in order to be accepted by them, need to respond to the needs of those readers. According to this theory, the influence is bi-directional and is contributed to by the diverse nature of both its poles (Jiráková & Köpplová, 2003). The media's most significant effect is its construction of meanings and the fact that it offers them systematically to its audiences, who, in turn, on the basis of a certain agreement, incorporate them (or not) into their personal structures of meaning, often shaped by previous collective identifications. Thus, meaning is created by the receivers themselves. This process then results in "social representations" – notions of reality shared by larger numbers of individuals (Hewstone & Stroebe, 2001).

An interesting contribution to this discussion is the result of a research study carried out by Sotirovic (2001), who examined the complexity of a media news item as a variable of the media's influence on its audience. Her research showed that readers/viewers tend to think more deeply about an event if exposed to a more complex news item – such as that covering a crime that was committed, and vice versa – which may affect their perception of the crime rate in the neighbourhood (the more complex the way in which people reflect on a crime, the more they favour preventive measures rather than only punitive ones). The study suggests that the consumers' qualities only play a minor role. Instead, it underlines the complexity of a media message as a source of its effect on the news recipient's opinion.

A more comprehensive account of the media's impact on juvenile violence is provided by the authors of a review study on the influence of media violence on the audience (Anderson et al., 2003). They divided the processes through which the media exert their influence on their audiences into two groups according to the duration of the effects. The processes involved in the short-term effects include observational learning and imitation; arousal and excitation; and priming; while the long-term effects of media violence on the audience are thought to be due to observational learning, the automatising of aggressive schematic processing, and desensitisation or emotional habituation. This research points out that it is necessary to consider more mechanisms to determine the media's influence on its audience, which makes it particularly important.

1.3. The portrayal of mental disorders in the print media

The media coverage of mental disorders became a major focus of interest in the second half of the 20th century. The first major work addressing this topic was published by Nunnally in 1961. It concluded that the portrayal of mental disorders in the media is generally negative and that the news predominantly depicts bizarre symptoms of mental disorders (Meagher et al., 1995). Prompted by the assumption that the negative media image of people with mental illnesses results in the retention and reinforcement of their negative social representation in the eyes of the general public, professionals worldwide began exploring this issue (Corrigan et al., 2005; Olstead, 2002; Philo, 1993; Wahl, 2000).

1.3.1. Methodological aspects of research on the portrayal of mental disorders in the print media

These types of studies involved the scrutiny of daily newspapers and magazines over a designated period of time, mostly several weeks (Corrigan et al., 2005; Nairn & Coverdale, 2005), months (Huang & Priebe, 2003), or years (Boke et al., 2007, Wahl, 2000). The choice of longer study periods turned out to be more useful, as this reduced the likelihood of sample bias because of a single event which would then affect both the frequency and representativeness of the sample of articles collected.

Articles were sampled by entering selected key words related to the subject of research, which either covered a large area of interest (such as psychiatry or mental health) or referred specifically to certain topics, including the depiction of obsessive compulsive disorder (Wahl, 2000), schizophrenia (Boke et al., 2007), and addictive substances (Grohmannová, 2006; Sivek et al., 2004). In this respect, the selection of key words appears crucial, as it subsequently determines the sample of articles and, accordingly, the study results, whose general applicability may be affected by the sample quality (Francis et al., 2005). The content of each article was assessed against selected criteria by evaluators, and data were mostly analysed using content analysis and discourse analysis.

1.3.2. Current research on the portrayal of mental disorders in the print media

Numerous studies point out that the portrayal of mental disorders in the press is problematic, negative, inconsistent with reality (Corrigan et al., 2005; Coverdale et al., 2002; Huang & Priebe, 2003; Lawrie, 2000); and often tends to highlight their bizarre features (Day & Page, 1986; Hazelton, 1997).

In their analysis, Coverdale et al. (2002) found that 47% of the articles (out of a total of 562) presented the mentally ill in generic terms without references to specific diagnostic categories. Compounded with negative depictions of the people with a mental disorder which predominate, this fact enhances the stereotypical negative attitudes to such people in general. The study conducted by Sieff (2003) suggests that the mentally ill are often

presented in the press as being totally overwhelmed by their mental disorder and unable to lead normal lives.

The portrayal of individual mental disorders in the Australian media in 2000 was examined by Francis et al. (2005). Out of the total number of 13,389 articles, 1,123 were randomly selected for analysis. This study showed that depression was the mental disorder which was depicted by the Australian media with the highest frequency. The articles dealing with the issues of depression, eating disorders, and substance abuse disorders referred more to policy issues, while those featuring the topic of schizophrenia were more likely to present the people or (the treatment of) the symptoms. Moreover the study results indicate that the articles addressing schizophrenia and substance abuse disorders were more likely to describe criminal activity at the same time. Another Australian study (Rowe et al., 2003) shows that depression tends to be associated with the theme of self-harm rather than violence and that, in comparison to other mental disorders, the press emphasises that these people should be protected.

Negative social representations of mental disorders are also enhanced by the metaphorical use of terms describing mental disorders. The use of the attribute “schizophrenic” in a figurative negative context is the most frequent issue in this respect. A Turkish study focusing on the depiction of schizophrenia in the print media identified 44% articles (387 from among a total of 878) in which the term schizophrenia was used metaphorically with negative connotations, mainly in relation to social structure, politics, and art. The term schizophrenia was repeatedly used in reference to loneliness and loss of control in order to underline the meaning to be conveyed (Boke et al., 2007). The frequent use of the term schizophrenia in a similar metaphorical sense was also identified in the German press (Hoffmann-Richter et al., 2003).

On the other hand, examples of positive depictions of mental disorders by the press were also studied. Analysis of several Australian articles (Nairn, 1999; Nairn & Coverdale, 2005) showed that the issue of mental disorders depicted in the form of self-portrayals provided by people suffering from a mental illness made it possible for them to be viewed in more positive terms and point out their ability to overcome the effects of stigmatisation. Comments from mental health professionals were another example of a positive portrayal of mental disorders (Meagher et al., 1995; Wahl, 2000).

Few relevant investigations have been conducted in Central and Eastern Europe. A Serbian study of the representations of mental illness in the press found that depictions of mental illness were considerably negative, presenting people with mental illness as dangerous and as victims of their health conditions (Bilic & Georgaca, 2007). In the Czech Republic the systematic analysis of the mental illness issues in the press was conducted in the 70's by Janík and Kubíčková. They concluded that addictive disorders and personality disorders were among the most frequently mentioned diagnosis, while less frequent were reports of affective or psychotic disorders (Janík & Kubíčková, 1975). Recently, these issues were investigated mainly in relation to the image of drug abuse and drug users in the print media (Grohmannová, 2006; Miovska et al., 2008a; Sivek et al., 2004).

1.3.3. Mental disorders and aggression in the print media

Mass media representations of people with psychiatric disorders, in particular those with substance abuse and schizophrenia, tend to emphasize violence, dangerousness, and criminality (Cutcliffe & Hannigan, 2001; Joyal et al., 2007; Nunally, 1961).

Several studies also repeatedly confirmed that many depictions convey a greatly exaggerated connection between mental illness and aggressive behavior (Allen & Nairn, 1997; Joyal et al., 2007; Olstead, 2002; Pilgrim & Rogers, 2003; Slopen et al., 2007). In a U.S. study, 39% of the articles under scrutiny referred to dangerousness and violent acts on the part of individuals with a mental disorder (Corrigan et al., 2005). Similar conclusions were drawn by Ward (1997) in a U.K. study in which 46% of the articles covering people with a mental disorder referred to crime and dangerous behavior towards others and themselves.

Coverdale et al. (2002) examined the content of 562 articles featuring the topic of mental disorders. The study concludes that negative depictions of mental disorders predominated. The most frequent themes of these articles included the dangerousness of the mentally ill to others (61.3% of print items) and criminality (47.3% of print items).

Moreover, in Italy, Carpiniello et al. (2007) found a significantly higher number of words, accompanying photos, and more stigmatizing language in reports dealing with deeds attributed to people with psychiatric disorders. Additionally, these articles were also more often published on the cover of newspapers and magazines, which increases their potential to influence the readers (Boke et al., 2007; Corrigan et al., 2005, Ward, 1997).

1.4. Consequences of negative media depictions of people with mental illness

As previously stated above, the media have an impact on the social representation of mental disorders. The ensuing public attitudes, behaviors, and the theme of mental illness is often presented by the print media in a negative context, which contributes to the stigmatisation of people diagnosed with a mental illness.

The concept of stigmatisation is based on the assumption that people with mental illness are different from the general population. It stems from society's stereotyped perception of people with mental illness and involves public prejudice, misunderstanding, and ignorance in relation to these people, which results in their discrimination and isolation (Thornicroft, 2006). The present-day theories of stigmatisation are based on research into prejudice and various forms of discrimination pursued by a number of professionals, including Allport (2004) and Goofman (2003). People with mental illness agree that stigma and discrimination are the main difficulties which affect all aspects of their lives (Chiroiu & Hocking, 2003).

Numerous studies have documented an association between negative media portrayals of people with mental illness and the public's negative attitudes (Angermeyer & Matschinger, 1996; Philo, 1996; Wahl, 1992; Wahl & Lefkowitz, 1989), and have concluded that stigmatizing presentations have a direct negative impact on individuals living with mental illness (Corrigan, 2004; Grinfeld, 1998) as well as on social policies (Cutcliffe & Hannigan, 2001; Olstead, 2002; Rose, 1998).

1.4.1. The impact of negative media depictions on individuals with mental illness

A study by Mind, a U.K. mental health charity, confirmed that negative media coverage has a direct and harmful impact on the lives of people with mental illnesses. As part of the project, 515 people suffering from mental disorders were surveyed about their feelings regarding media coverage of mental illness. Half of the respondents reported that the media coverage had a direct negative effect on their own mental health, resulting mostly in an increase in their depression symptoms and anxiety. A total of 22% of the participants indicated that they felt more isolated as a result of negative media coverage, and almost 25% of the respondents reported that they noticed hostile behavior from their neighbours because of negative newspaper and television messages (Edney, 2004).

1.4.2. The impact of negative depictions of individuals with mental illness on the public's knowledge, attitudes, and behavior towards the mentally ill

The impact of newspaper coverage on the public's attitudes, knowledge, and behavior in relation to people with mental illnesses is addressed by several key research projects (Arboleda-Flórez et al., 1996). Assuming that the media tend to highlight violent acts committed by persons with mental disorders, these studies focused on how the media's coverage of the mentally ill as violent, dangerous, and unpredictable individuals affects the recipients of such messages.

Thorton and Wahl (1996) selected newspaper articles covering murders committed by people with mental illnesses and featuring additional particularly stigmatising characteristics, such as a detailed account of the victim's death described in emotional terms. The study also employed articles believed to be of a prophylactic nature, including a news item pointing out that criminal acts committed by persons with mental illness are rare. Participants were asked to read the articles (the stigmatising and/or the prophylactic one) and then their attitudes towards individuals with mental illness were measured. The study results confirmed the expected association between a stigmatising article and a negative response in readers' attitudes. The readers who had read an article about the violent acts of people with mental illnesses were more likely to agree to restrictive measures against such persons and more often reported that they were afraid of such

individuals. The study also showed that the readers' negative attitudes were not so harsh if they had read the prophylactic articles. The major limitation of this research is the short measurement period. The authors only focused on the immediate effects of the text, without paying attention to the duration and power of its impact. Another weakness is that the investigators did not rate the readers' attitudes towards people with mental illness prior to their reading the article, which makes it unclear whether their attitudes changed in comparison to their original views.

Dietrich et al. (2006) carried out research with a similar design, focusing on a description of the impact of newspaper articles with a three-week follow-up. The results supported the previous studies. Participants who read the stigmatising articles were more likely to refer to people with mental illness as aggressive and violent. Paradoxically, the study's limitation is the three weeks' interval during which the participants could be influenced by their environment, and such external exposure was not captured by the investigators.

Granello et al. (1999) first tested what the participants thought of people with mental illnesses and then asked them to indicate their main source of information about this population. The participants reporting the electronic media (including television, film, and video) as their main sources of information showed a lower level of tolerance than those whose sources of information included the print media and/or personal experience. The study indicates that the electronic media generate more stereotypes, which suggests a potential for an interesting comparison of both types of media.

In their research study, Angermeyer & Matschinger (1996) focused on the effect of two violent attacks by individuals with a mental illness which had received thorough media coverage of the attitudes of the public towards the mentally ill. The results show that the media coverage of the violent attacks brought about a significant increase in social distance from people with mental illness and that this impact was still apparent two years after the incidents.

A study conducted by the Glasgow University Media Group provided evidence that the opinions of the people who find a strong relationship between a mental disorder and violence are largely derived from the media and that the media coverage of mental disorders is more powerful than people's own experience. Accordingly, the public tends

to view people with mental illnesses using the same perspective as that they were offered by the media (Philo, 1993).

1.4.3. Policy aspects of negative media depictions of people with mental illness

A study carried out in the United Kingdom confirmed the correlation between the negative media portrayal of mental illness and social policy. When the public is convinced that people with a psychiatric diagnosis are either perpetrators or victims of violence, and are unable to take care of themselves in either case, the government policy will reflect such beliefs. As a result, politicians will be more inclined to restrict and control mentally ill people rather than treat them and integrate them into the community (Rose, 1998).

In addition, experts worldwide advocate the idea that false and negative stereotypes in relation to people with mental illness lead to growing fear on the part of the public, which is subsequently reflected in lower support for community care and different areas of human rights. This may result in support for, and the approval of, legal regulations allowing involuntary treatment and hospitalisation, as well as in a growing emphasis on the powers of the police to protect the public from violence performed by such people (Rose, 1998). This assumption was also supported by Cutcliffe and Hannigan (2001), who state that since the mid-90's U.K. mental health policy has become increasingly restrictive, which they relate to the negative and inaccurate portrayal of people with mental illness in the mass media.

In this respect, Miovská et al. (2008a) suggest that negative depictions of addictive substances, especially marijuana, in the media can have negative repercussions on drug policies, particularly in terms of more repressive measures. One of the possible reasons, they argue, is that the vast majority of media messages reflect the attitudes of law enforcement agencies and institutions, even when areas such as prevention and treatment are referred to. This fact is also reflected in the discourse of such messages - in professional terms, they often contain inaccurate and confusing, or sometimes even false and misleading, information.

Olstead (2002) in his study concluded that as a result of negative media coverage, the scarce financial resources earmarked for mental health tend to be used for public protection rather than for the improvement of mental health treatment and support for community care.

1.5. Media interventions to tackle stigmatisation of mental disorders

While contributing to stigmatisation on one hand, the media can also play an important role in preventing it. In this respect, the media are used for so-called antistigma campaigns, mostly involving educational activities (Arboleda-Flórez et al., 1996). Interventions seeking to bring a change in the form and content of the coverage of people with mental illness, conceived as recommendations for the journalists, constitutes another approach (Mind Over Matter, 2006; Samaritans, 2008).

1.5.1. Recommendations for media professionals

In view of the fact that the media coverage of people with mental illnesses contributes to their stigmatisation, a number of recommendations for journalists, as well as helping professionals, have been published in order to take corrective action. The handbooks provide a range of tips on what language should be used, how to provide the public with well-balanced information about mental disorders, and under what circumstances and in what way the patients should be invited or asked to participate (Mind Over Matter, 2006; National Media and Mental Health Group, 2009).

Special attention is paid to the way in which the media should report suicides or violent acts committed by people with mental illness (Samaritans, 2008). A survey carried out by Together (2008), a U. K. organisation, found that those journalists who had been briefed by their employers about how to write about people with mental illnesses received more positive feedback and fewer complaints from the public than those who had received no such guidelines.

Few studies have investigated the associations between specific media content and suicide rates and even less is known about the possible preventive effects of suicide-related media content. Niederkrotenthaler et al. (2010) stipulate that repetitive reporting of the same suicide and the reporting of suicide myths is positively associated with suicide rates (Werther effect). At the same time coverage of individual suicidal ideation not accompanied by suicidal behavior is negatively associated with suicide rates (Papageno effect). It is therefore necessary to highlight, that the impact of suicide reporting may not be restricted to harmful effects; rather, articles dealing with positive coping mechanisms in adverse circumstances may have protective effects (Papageno effect might counterbalance Werther effect).

1.5.2. Antistigma campaigns for the general public

Since the print media have a strong impact on their readers, particularly on their attitudes and knowledge pertaining to individuals with mental illness, this can be used in fighting the negative stereotypes of mental illness. Thanks to the attention which the „stigmatization“ phenomenon has received in recent decades, the awareness of the media's influence has come to the forefront and action has been taken, specifically in the form of recommendations to rectify this state of affairs.

The general public's poor awareness and knowledge of mental disorders and their treatment remain the basic rationales for a number of antistigma programs (Crisp et al., 2005). Educational activities mostly involve massive national campaigns aimed to increase the general public's awareness of mental disorders, their treatment, and the prospects of recovery. In this sense, the major agents among the media include daily newspapers and other printed matter. However, a combination of several types of media is recommended to enhance the effectiveness of antistigma campaigns (Stuart, 2003).

The Australian “Community Awareness Programme”, one of the best-known campaigns of this kind, had three key objectives: (a) to make mental health an issue of public interest; (b) to promote better understanding and greater acceptance of people with mental illness, and (c) dispel myths and false notions about mental disorders. The

campaign resulted in the reinforcement of tolerant attitudes and a slight increase in awareness of healthcare facilities (Australian National Mental Health Strategy, 1999).

Another Australian campaign seeking to raise awareness of depression and its treatment led to the conclusion (Jorm, 2005) that an intensive and coordinated educational antistigma intervention in the print media produces positive results. In the areas reached by the campaign, people were more likely to recognise the symptoms of depression and seek professional help more quickly than in the areas which were not exposed to the intervention. Having evaluated the success of the “Defeat Depression Campaign”, carried out in the United Kingdom between 1991 and 1996 and employing both daily and weekly periodicals, as well as radio and television programs, the investigators concluded that there was significant improvement, of the order of 5-10%, regarding attitudes to depression and antidepressants (Paykel et al., 1998).

In 1998, the World Psychiatric Association initiated the development of a global program, “Open the Doors”, to fight schizophrenia-related stigma and discrimination. The program has already been implemented in 27 countries around the world, including the Czech Republic (WPA, 2005). It addresses various location-specific target populations and fully relies on local action groups. The program also involves the use of the media. As part of their liaison with the press, the protagonists of the program are expected to establish contact with journalists and brief them about the correct use of the term “schizophrenia”, as well as to compile a list comprising both people suffering from a psychotic disorder and experts concerned with this issue which would be available to the journalists when writing texts on this subject matter (World Psychiatric Association, 2005).

In their study focused on the destigmatisation of depression, Merritt et al. (2007) showed that costly TV campaigns are not necessarily needed; simple and inexpensive media, such as postcards and posters, may suffice, particularly as far as young people are concerned. Various computer-assisted educational programs contributed significantly to an increase in the awareness of mental disorders, as well as a reduction in psychiatric stigma (Finkelstein et al., 2008). While a mere rise in awareness may not necessarily lead to a change in attitudes or behaviors, a basic knowledge of mental disorders is the first step towards a change in stereotypes (Sofres, 2003).

Thus, it can be stated that a great deal of evidence indicates that the stigma attached to mental disorders can be tackled. It has been proved that when daily newspapers alone are used to fight the stigma, their impact on the change in people's behavior is limited. This effect is more powerful when more media are combined with face-to-face interventions (Devault, 2000). Antistigma programs may also influence the impact of the media by providing them with good-quality information and education about mental disorders (Mayer & Barry, 1992). Targeted campaigns are more successful, as it still holds true that the more generic the campaign is, the more limited its effects are (Stuart, 2003). As far as antistigma campaigns are concerned, a major challenge still waiting to be tackled is to find the answer to the question as to what characteristics a campaign should feature in order to bring about the most pronounced change in the behavior of the public and a reduction in discrimination against people with mental illnesses (Thornicroft, 2007).

1.6. Background and antistigma activities in the Czech Republic, Slovak Republic and Croatia

1.6.1. Situation in the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic

The Czech Republic with population of 10.2 million (Eurostat, 2010) and the Slovak Republic with population of 5.4 million (Eurostat, 2010) do share a long history of psychiatry and mental health care. During the communist era of 1948 – 1989, the one-party system with a centralized economy and substantial restrictions of democratic rights influenced all aspects of society (Dragomirecka et al., 2008; Vevera, 2004). The health care system was nationalized and patients did not have free choice of a specialist or treatment facility. No civic movements or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) existed to provide advocacy, promotion, or prevention.

The communist regime monopolized the media and largely prevented any alternative voices from reaching the public. The main political, social, and administrative changes after the “Velvet Revolution” in November 1989 provided the basis for creation of new mental health policies, which enabled attempts to address stigma (Dragomirecka et al., 2008; Vevera et al., 2005).

Although the Czech Republic has lagged behind some other more developed countries in this area, it should be pointed out that the attempts have been made to assess the scope of the problem and that several stigma prevention programs have been introduced.

In 2004 the Czech Republic joined the World Psychiatric Association (WPA) program entitled “Open the Doors” with the initiative called „Změna“ (Change). Its survey focused on schizophrenia revealed that there is little knowledge about the disorder among the general public and that stereotypes about the dangerousness and unpredictability of patients are widespread (DEMA, 2004). This project did also tackle stigma through exhibitions, on-line counselling, presentations of the destigmatization activities in magazines, live presentations, brochure distribution, etc. (Stop stigma, 2012).

Projects „Blázníš? No a!“ (discussions in schools) „Týdny pro duševní zdraví“ (workshops, exhibitions) were created as a reaction towards very low mental health literacy that has been found in Czech Republic (Pěč, 2012). Czech Association for Mental Health (CAMH) is an association composed of mental health care users, families, mental health care centers, and the general public; among other activities organizes educational activities for the public (CAMH, 2012).

One of the main priorities of the initiative Stop stigma is to increase the level of information on mental illness mainly by encouraging media to provide more complete and accurate information (Stop stigma, 2012). NGO „Centre for Mental Health Care Development“ strives to identify and resolve problems in mental health care, among other means by various educational programs and destigmatization activities (CMHCD, 2012). Even service users themselves are providing support to others who are in need of such help „VIDA, o.s.“ (counselling, advocacy), NGOs like Fokus, o.s., Sympathea, o.s., Green Doors, o.s., Práh, o.s., Lomikámen, o.s., ESET-HELP, o.s., do involve mentally ill people in sheltered workplaces, sheltered housing, provide social support, etc. (Motlová et al., 2008; Pěč, 2012).

The League for Mental Health is a leading NGO active in mental health promotion and protection in the Slovak Republic (Liga za duševné zdravie, 2008). Its programs include media campaigns on alcohol abuse and schizophrenia. Another Slovak national

organization, *Otvorme dvere otvorme srdcia* (Open the door open your hearts), implements the anti-stigma program of the WPA (Sartorius, 2005). In cooperation with the media, this program included interviews with patients and their relatives appearing in newspapers as well as on television (Nawka, 2005).

1.6.2. Situation in Croatia

Croatia with population of 4.4 million (Eurostat, 2010), has a very similar socio-cultural and historical background of psychiatry and mental health care to the Czech and Slovak Republics. Croatia was part of Yugoslavia, with the communist regime in place until 1991.

Since 1991, thorough transitional changes took place and brought vast socioeconomic, political and cultural changes. These changes also affected overall health issues and mental health issues as well. Ten percent of the adult population are war veterans who suffer from psychiatric problems, especially post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Prevalence of PTSD ranges from 18-40% (Komar & Vukusic, 1999) and the suicide rate among war veterans is more than twice as high as for the general population (Suicidi info, 2009). Throughout the 1991 – 2004 period, 1053 war veterans committed suicide (Croatian Government, 2006).

Recent findings report a high level of stigma towards mental illness as reported by the general population, medical staff, and caregivers of patients with mental illness (Arbanas, 2008; Filipcic et al., 2003), mostly associated with fear and insufficient knowledge about psychiatric patients and mental disorders. A recent study of PTSD and perception of stigma showed that stigma perception depends on social support and intensity of symptoms (Aukst-Margetic et al., 2009).

Even though the above figures show a dramatic situation, the Croatian government has still not accepted international standards of anti-stigma programs from the World Health Organization (WHO) or WPA. Therefore anti-stigma programs are mostly provided by NGOs or psychiatric associations. Mental health professionals are making efforts to provide anti-stigma programs and some positive results have been already achieved

through the establishment of a Center for Mental Health at the Health Centre Zagreb and Croatian Center for Rehabilitation in Community, Vrapce Psychiatric Hospital, as a part of the WHO's and Stability Pact pilot project (Health development action for south-eastern Europe, 2009).

2. Research study objectives

Even though there has been an increased interest in the role of the print media in conveying negative attitudes towards people with mental illness (Allen & Nairn, 1997; Angermeyer & Schulze, 2001; Corrigan et al., 2005; Coverdale et al., 2002; Dietrich et al., 2006; Nairn et al., 2001; Thorton & Wahl, 1996; Wahl et al., 2002), there was no standardised measurement of the stigma of mental illness in the print media, particularly for use in international studies using clearly operationalized definitions. Therefore the research team decided to develop one.

Objective 1

To develop a standardised and objective instrument to measure stigma of mental illness in the print media - PICMIN (Picture of Mental Illness in Newspapers).

Together with the development of the PICMIN instrument the research team aimed to compare the contents and tone of articles on mental health/illness in Czech, Croatian, and Slovak print media. An international comparison should moreover provide comprehensive information on representations of mental illnesses in the print media in each country, which can be a basis for targeted anti-stigma programs with respect to socio-cultural contexts.

Objective 2

To describe the current situation of the portrayal of mental health/illness issues in Croatian, Czech and Slovak print media using the PICMIN instrument.

In particular, the goals were as follows:

- 1) To find out what is the global impression (level of stigmatization) of the articles dealing with mental health/illness.
- 2) To describe the association between psychiatric disorders and violence in the print media (which psychiatric disorders are depicted together with aggressive acts; what type of aggressive acts are mostly portrayed in articles depicting psychiatric disorders, and identification of the role of a person with mental illness in aggressive deeds).

- 3) To describe who are the sources of information mentioned in the articles; what types of mental disorders are described in the articles; and whether identifying information of mentally ill people are being revealed.
- 4) To perform a cluster analysis of the positive and negative statements from the articles.

3. Methodology of the research project

The development of the PICMIN instrument was based on the principles of content analysis, a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from text to the context of their use (Kerlinger, 1972; Krippendorff, 2004; Schulz et al., 1998). It is a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding (Berelson, 1952; Weber, 1990). In the field of mass communication research, content analysis has been the fastest-growing technique over the past 20 years or so. Media content analysis is a specialised sub-set of content analysis (Macnamara, 2006).

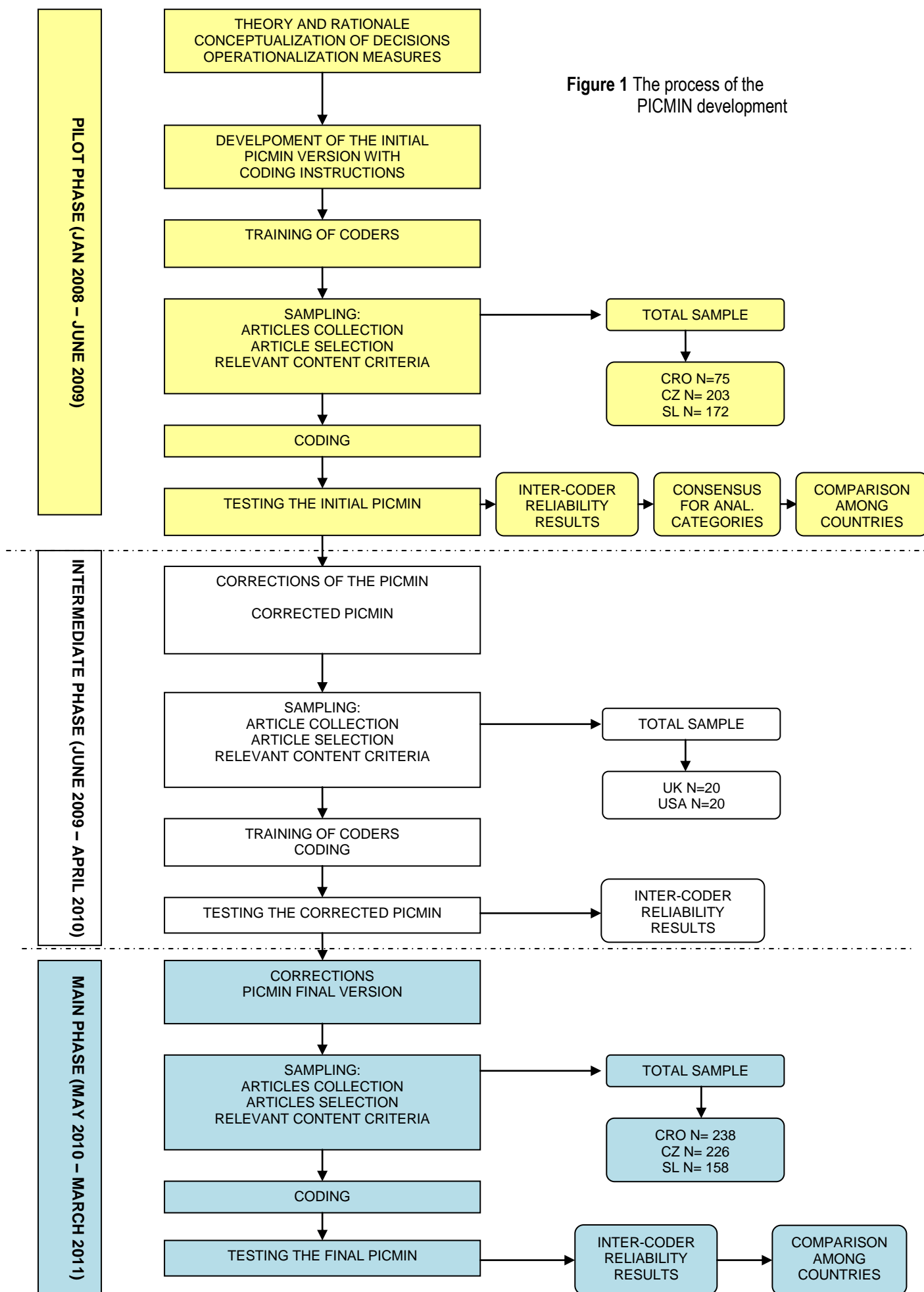
3.1. Phases of the PICMIN instrument development

The research study was conducted in three phases (Rukavina et al., in press). The pilot phase included: a) development of the initial version of the instrument for measurement of stigma in print media, b) training of the coders, and c) testing the initial version of the instrument. The intermediate phase included: a) corrections of the instrument based on findings from the previous steps, b) training of coders and c) testing the corrected version of the instrument. Finally, the main phase included: a) development of the final version of the instrument and b) testing the final version of the instrument. The process of instrument development is shown in Figure 1.

3.2. Study sample and keywords

The sampling for media content analysis comprises three steps (Newbold et al., 2002): a) selection of the media forms, b) selection of issues or dates and c) sampling of relevant content from within those media.

Figure 1 The process of the PICMIN development



3.2.1. Pilot phase (January 2008 – June 2009)

The pilot phase sample comprised articles pertaining to the topic of mental illness chosen from the six most widely read daily newspapers (broadsheets and tabloids) and weekly magazines in Croatia, the Czech Republic and Slovakia (Table 1). All articles were retrieved by national media retrieval agencies. They were taken from four one-week periods randomly selected from every three months throughout 2007, and one week randomly selected from the year 2007.

Table 1 The six most widely read daily newspapers (broadsheets and tabloids) and weekly magazines in Croatia, the Czech Republic and Slovakia

	Daily periodicals		Weekly periodicals
	Broadsheets	Tabloids	
Croatia	Glas Istre, Jutarnji list, Novi list, Slobodna Dalmacija, Večernji list	24 sata	Arena, Globus, Gloria, Lisa, Mila, Story
Czech Republic	Lidové noviny, Mladá fronta DNES, Právo	Aha!, Blesk, Šíp	Blesk pro ženy, Chvilka pro tebe, Katka, Nedělní blesk, Rytmus života, Svět ženy
Slovak Republic	Hospodárske noviny, Pravda, SME	Korzár, Nový čas, Plus jeden deň	Báječná žena, Nový čas pre ženy, Plus 7 dní, Rytmus života – SK, Trend, Týždeň

To identify relevant content of stigma of mental illness in print media, keywords used for searching print media were divided into the two following groups: neutral terms such as psychiatry, psychiatric facility, mental illness, hallucination, psychotherapy, psychologist, dementia, schizophrenia, psychosis, depression, depressed, antidepressant, manic-depressive, mania, anxiety disorder, anorexia, bulimia, retardation, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD); and labelling terms (mental illness expressions are used as labels, adjectives as opposed to nouns): schizophrenic, neurotic, psychotic, alcoholic, anorectic, bulimic. The print media search was performed using the stem derivatives of defined keywords in singular and plural forms in all three languages. All parts of the newspapers

were searched for the articles containing defined keywords, including news, specialised sections (crime, health/science, celebrities, sports, etc.), interviews, columns, and editorials.

Out of all articles obtained after setting the keywords, relevance sampling of the articles in which the subject of mental illness represented the relevant content; meaning that a keyword is presented in association with mental illness, either as a main subject of the article or sideline to another news story; was performed. The initial numbers of articles identified were 102 in Croatia, 1424 in the Czech Republic, and 900 in Slovakia. The initial articles' search revealed numerous articles that did not use keywords in association with mental illness, for example: "Depression on the stadium after losing the game; New anti-corruption law caused anxiety in the parliament, Alcoholic beverages cannot be advertised"; etc. The selection of articles with mental illness as the relevant content of the article enabled us to create final samples in all three countries. The final sample consisted of 75 articles from Croatia, 203 articles from Czech Republic, and 172 articles from Slovakia.

3.2.2. Intermediate phase (July 2009 – April 2010)

The study sample in the second phase consisted of on-line articles available in the English language from the most read daily and weekly US (United States of America) and UK (United Kingdom) print media. Internet searches using the same keywords as in the pilot phase were performed during November 2009. After the selection of the articles based on mental illness as the relevant content of the article, a total of 40 articles comprised the intermediate phase sample.

3.2.3. Main phase (May 2010 – March 2011)

The main phase study sample consisted of articles related to the topic of mental illness which were chosen from the six most widely read daily newspapers (broadsheets and tabloids) and weekly magazines in Croatia, the Czech Republic and Slovakia (Table 1). Again, all articles were retrieved by national media retrieval agencies. They were taken

from 42 days (randomly selected six times each day of the week, thus constructing six composite weeks) in the period from April 1st 2009 to March 31st 2010.

To identify relevant content, keywords used for searching the print media were divided into the three groups. The same neutral and labelling terms were used as in the initial phase of the project, in addition to that pejorative terms; madman, madhouse, lunatic, maniac, junkie, psychopath; were used. The print media search was performed using the stem derivatives of defined keywords in singular and plural forms in all three languages. All parts of the newspapers were searched for the articles containing defined keywords, including news, specialised sections (crime, health/science, celebrities, sports, etc.), interviews, columns, and editorials.

Out of all articles obtained after setting the keywords, relevance sampling of the articles in which the subject of mental illness represented the relevant content was performed. The initial numbers of articles identified were 1296 in Croatia, 1364 in the Czech Republic, and 742 in Slovakia. The selection of articles with mental illness as the relevant content defined our main phase sample. The final sample consisted of 238 articles from Croatia, 226 articles from Czech Republic, and 158 articles from Slovakia.

The sampling that was used for this research study is a combination of purposive sampling (Newbold et al., 2002) focusing on key media, using only the six most read print media, and stratified composite sampling, randomly selecting units over a time period (stratification by weeks or days) which has been identified as the most accurate sampling method for analysing media publications (Riffe et al., 1998). Then after stratification by weeks or days the third step included relevance sampling (Krippendorff, 2004; Neuendorf, 2002), sampling of relevant content from those media based on a keywords search and the association of the article with mental illness, either as the main subject of the article or a sideline to another story.

3.3. Process of the development of the PICMIN instrument

3.3.1. Pilot phase – the initial version of the PICMIN instrument

The initial version of the instrument consisted of two groups “a priori” determined categories: descriptive categories (Table 2) and analytical categories (Table 3). Categories were defined based on previous research of mental illness reporting in the media (Coverdale et al., 2002; Francis et al., 2001; Huang & Priebe, 2003; O’Connor & Casey, 2001; Wahl et al., 2002), through a consultation process with the project’s mentors and a discussion with mental health advocates and journalists.

Descriptive categories included the name of the article, date of issue, name of the media, type of the media, page, identification of neutral/labelling keywords, section, number of words in the article, types of disorders named and described, and sources of information about mental illness, e.g., inclusion of perspectives from mental health experts, persons with mental illness, or their families. Disorders that were included generally corresponded to classifications from the 10th version of the International Classification of Diseases (ICD, 1993).

Analytical categories described main issues such as sensationalism, aggression, global impression of the headline and global impression of the article, all of which were shown to be important in previous studies (Coverdale et al., 2002, Francis et al., 2001; Huang & Priebe, 2003; O’Connor & Casey, 2001; Wahl et al., 2002). In the category of “sensationalism” the focus was centered on both content and form of the article. Likewise, aggression was also assessed by two separate categories. In the category “aggressive behavior” the focus was directed on whether a person with mental illness was depicted as a perpetrator or a victim or both. In the second category, the particular type of aggressive act was identified.

Table 2 Picture of mental illness in newspapers (PICMIN) instrument, initial version, descriptive categories

Descriptive categories	
Category	Codes
Name of the article	
Name of the media	
Date of issue	
Type of the media	Daily – broadsheet Daily – tabloid Weekly (magazine)
Page number(s) (indicating article's position in the media)	
Key words identified	Neutral Labelling
Section	Sport Crime Business/ economics/ Politics Healthcare Science Entertainment Celebrities Not related to specific section
Disorder mentioned ^a	Organic disorders F0 Substance abuse disorders F1 Psychotic disorders F2 Affective disorders F3 Anxiety disorders F4 Eating disorders F50 Other Not related to specific mental disorder
Source of information ^a	Mental health professional Scientific survey/public inquiry Famous person/celebrity Mentally ill person Family member of mentally ill Friends/colleagues/neighbours of mentally ill Police/judge/attorney Politician/local authorities
Number of words	

^amultiple coding possible

Table 3 Picture of mental illness in newspapers (PICMIN) instrument, initial version, analytical categories

Analytical categories	
Category	Codes
Sensationalism - content	Yes /No
Sensationalism - form	Yes/No
Aggressive act ^a	Completed suicide
	Attempted suicide
	Self-harm
	Homicide
	Physical assault against other persons
	Aggression against objects
	No aggressive act
Aggressive behavior	Perpetrator
	Victim
	Both
	None
A priori statements	
Treatment is beneficial	Yes/No
Life can be ruined by mental illness	Yes/No
People with mental illness can socially function in the community	Yes/No
People with mental illness should be separated and can not succeed in life	Yes/No
Celebrities admitting they have mental illness can help others to seek professional help	Yes/No
People with mental illness are usually violent/aggressive	Yes/No
Global impression - headline	Positive
	Neutral
	Negative
Global impression - article	Positive
	Neutral
	Mixed
	Negative

^amultiple coding possible

The global impression of the article's headline was coded before reading the article and it could have been coded as positive, neutral, or negative. Assessment of the global impression of the article was evaluated according to the presence of positive/negative statements and was coded as negative, positive, mixed, or neutral. Each analytical category included a paragraph-long definition to facilitate coding.

Articles were coded as positive if the article: a) supported a positive picture of the mentally ill or psychiatric service by portraying it in a way that a mentally ill person is included in society, able to socially participate; b) presented examples of mental illness professionals, institutions or NGO's providing help to the mentally ill, their families and society; c) articles avoided reinforcing stereotypes of mental illnesses and were respectful of people's rights. Articles were coded as neutral if the article stated the facts in an objective way and did not give information which might sway the reader's perspective on mental illness. Articles were coded as negative if: a) mentally ill persons were portrayed as violent or dangerous; b) mentally ill persons were connected with criminal behavior, endangering society; c) pejorative and colloquial terms were used and d) media presentations of mental illness promoted negative images and stereotypes. Articles were coded as mixed if both positive and negative statements were found in their content.

To reflect the overall tone or global impression of the article related to stigma, six positive or negative statements pertaining to the topic of mental health/illness were defined "a priori" and were analyzed using constant comparison of content method (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

A list of statements was generated based on previous research (Corrigan et al., 2005; Coverdale et al., 2002; Huang & Priebe, 2003; O'Connor & Casey, 2001; Wahl et al., 2002), and through a consultation process with the project's mentors. Each coder was supplied with this list of statements, such as: "Treatment is beneficial"; "People with mental illness can socially function in the community", "People with mental illness are usually violent/aggressive", etc.

Coders could choose one or more, if appropriate, of the six "a priori" defined statements, or write their own conclusion with the main message of the article within the open-ended box in the on-line version of the instrument that was used for data entries. These

positive/negative statements served as a basis for the coding of the “global impression of text”.

3.3.2. Intermediate phase - corrections of the PICMIN instrument

In the intermediate phase researchers decided to change some of the descriptive categories in order to obtain more information from the articles’ content in future analyses. In the descriptive categories, the “crime story” (yes/no) category was added, the “section” category was changed into four possible codes (news, including politics, business, economics, sports or crime; healthcare/science; entertainment/celebrities and unrelated to any specific section); the “personal data” category, revealing the identity of the mentally ill person in the article, was also added to the instrument and the “disorder mentioned” category was broadened to specify child and adolescent psychiatric disorders, personality disorders and sexual disorders.

Several changes were made to the instrument from the pilot phase for the analytical categories including sensationalism content and style and global impression of the headline and the article. The initial version consisted of two categories related to sensationalism (content and style) which were merged into one category named “sensationalism”. The “aggressive act” category was renamed to “type of aggressive act” and broadened to include a code for threatening behavior including verbal aggression. Corresponding codes listing the methods used to commit suicide and attempted suicide were added. The “aggressive behavior” category was renamed to “role in aggressive behavior.”

In assessing the global impression of the article, the items were evaluated according to the presence of positive/negative statements and coded as stigmatising, neutral, de-stigmatising, or mixed (the terminology for coding the global impression was changed). Researchers established more precise defining criteria for global impression of the headline (Table 4) and global impression of the article (Table 5).

Table 4 Criteria for coding the global impression of the headline category

Codes	Criteria	Rule
Destigmatising	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Individuals with mental illness are functioning very well in the society (equal or similar to people without mental illness), 2. Examples of mental health promotion actions (topics related to public health, prevention and treatment of mental illness, political and social activities), 3. Heading about stories of individuals who have overcome mental illness (including celebrities confessing they have mental illness), 4. Educational, informative and evidence-based information in the heading with clear recommendations for treatment or prevention of mental illness. 	At least 1 criterion is met
Neutral	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Heading states information about mental illness, based on scientific studies, does not include recommendation for prevention and/or treatment of mental illness, 2. State the facts as they happened (objectively) and do not give information which might sway the reader's perspective on mental illness, 3. It is not clear whether subject of heading is connected to mental illness topic. 	At least 1 criterion is met
Stigmatising	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Individuals with mental illness are being associated with violence, aggression and crime, 2. Myths and prejudice on mental illness (non-professional and non-evidence based reporting), 3. Individuals with mental illness are socially dysfunctional (dependent on social help, unemployed, detained in psychiatric facilities, etc.), 4. Misuse/overuse of psychiatric diagnoses and services 	At least 1 criterion is met

Table 5 Criteria for coding the global impression of the article category

Codes	Criteria	Rule
Destigmatising	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Individuals with mental illness are functioning very well in the society (equal or similar to people without mental illness) 2. Examples of mental health promotion actions (topics related to public health, prevention and treatment of mental illness, political and social activities) 3. Stories about individuals who have overcome mental illness (including celebrities confessing they have mental illness) 4. Educational, informative and evidence-based articles with clear recommendations for treatment or prevention of mental illness 	At least 1 criterion is met
Neutral	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Article states information about mental illness, based on scientific studies, does not include recommendation for prevention and/or treatment of mental illness 2. State the facts as they happened (objectively) and do not give information which might sway the reader's perspective on mental illness 	Both criteria need to be met
Stigmatising	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Individuals with mental illness are being associated with violence, aggression and crime 2. Myths and prejudice on mental illness (non-professional and not evidence based reporting) 3. Individuals with mental illness are socially dysfunctional (dependent on social help, unemployed, detained in psychiatric facilities, etc.) 4. Misuse/overuse of psychiatric diagnoses and services 	At least 1 criterion is met
Mixed	The article contains sentences or paragraphs with stigmatising as well as destigmatising statements	At least 1 criterion for "destigmatising" and at least 1 criterion for "stigmatising" is met

3.3.3. Main phase – finalization of the PICMIN instrument

In the main phase coding for the “sensationalism” category was broadened into three possible codes (no, yes - low, yes – high) with defined criteria (Table 6). The “type of aggressive act” category was broadened to include a code for sexual aggression (sub-coded as sexual abuse of an adult, rape of an adult, sexual abuse of a minor, rape of a minor).

Table 6 Criteria for coding the sensationalism category

	Criteria	Rule
Codes		
Yes-high	1. Gossip/rumour/scandal/speculation/non-evidence-based assumption	At least two criteria need to be met
Yes-low	2. Overemphasising and exaggerating the point 3. Colloquial and pejorative terms used	At least one criterion needs to be met
No	4. Psychiatric theme is misused to attract attention	No criteria are met

In assessing the global impression of the article, the items were not evaluated according to the presence of “a priori” positive or negative statements. Experience from the pilot phase showed that “a priori” defined positive and negative statements limit the quoting from the article’s content in an open-ended box thus omitting all potential aspects of the article to be taken into account for coding the global impression of the article. With the use of the instrument, coders extracted direct quotes from the article or summarised the article’s tone and main emphasis to code the global impression of the article as stigmatising, neutral, de-stigmatising, or mixed.

The final full version of the PICMIN instrument with the coding scheme and instructions for the coding of the descriptive and analytical categories is attached (Attachment 1).

3.4. Coding process and inter-coder reliability

3.4.1. Pilot phase – testing the initial version of the PICMIN instrument

Each country recruited three coders who were trained mental health professionals (psychiatrist, psychiatric resident, or psychologist). Education of the coders started at the beginning of the pilot phase. Prior to testing the initial version of the instrument, 30 exemplar articles from the Czech print media were translated into English and all coders rated them by consensus to overcome possible differences in interpretation. Training was conducted during a three-day workshop.

Pilot phase articles were independently coded by three separate in-country coders. ICR of the pilot phase sample (75 articles from Croatia, 203 articles from Czech Republic, and 172 articles from Slovakia) was determined for the descriptive and analytical categories of the instrument.

3.4.2. Intermediate phase - testing the corrected version of the PICMIN instrument

The corrected version of the PICMIN instrument was tested by coding 40 articles obtained by an Internet search in December 2009 using predefined keywords (same keywords as in the pilot phase) from the UK and USA newspapers available on-line. All nine coders, three per country, independently rated the same articles.

3.4.3. Main phase - testing the final version of the PICMIN instrument

As in the pilot phase, each country recruited three coders who were trained mental health professionals (psychiatrist, psychiatric resident, or psychologist) and underwent intensive content analysis/ICR training in the study's previous phases, cca. 80 hours per coder. In-country coders rated articles independently. Testing of the final version of the instrument was performed during March 2011 using a sample of 238 articles from Croatia, 226 articles from Czech Republic and 158 articles from Slovakia.

3.5. Statistical analysis

ICR during testing the instrument's initial, corrected and final versions was determined for the descriptive and analytical categories using the indices: Average Pair-wise Percent Agreement (APPA) and Krippendorff's α (alpha). APPA is a more liberal index, allowing a single comparison of the level of agreement among coders and ratings. APPA values $\geq 75\%$ were considered reliable, while APPA values $\geq 85\%$ indicated high reliability (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007; Neuendorf, 2002). Krippendorff's α (alpha), a more conservative index of co-variation applicable to nominal data, was used as a second index that accounts for agreement expected by chance. Krippendorff's α (alpha) values ≥ 0.60 were considered reliable, whereas Krippendorff's α (alpha) values ≥ 0.75 indicated high reliability (Lombard, 2010; Neuendorf, 2002). ICR was calculated with the ReCal ("Reliability Calculator"), an online utility that computes ICR coefficients (Freelon, 2010).

Descriptive statistics were used to present all data obtained from the pilot phase and main phase sample. The differences between frequencies among countries were determined using χ^2 tests. For cases in which the χ^2 test is not appropriate, non-parametric tests were used. For some analysis the p value was calculated using robust non-parametrical Monte Carlo test for independence of rows from columns. For each genuine table 99999999 random tables were made. Each random table has the same marginal totals as its genuine table. The random tables come from a population having independent rows and columns. A p value $< .05$ was considered statistically significant (Monte Carlo test, 2010). All statistical analyses except the Monte Carlo test were carried out with the SPSS 13.0 (SSPS inc., Chicago, IL, USA) statistical software package. To describe the effect of particular variables on the global impression, a variable negative/positive ratio (NPR) was introduced. This variable uses only two clusters (articles coded as positive and negative). Articles coded as neutral and mixed were not included in this analysis. Higher NPR shows a stronger effect on stigmatizing global impression.

4. Results of the research project

4.1. PICMIN instrument and the inter-coder reliability results

A three-phase study to develop the PICMIN instrument based on the principles of content analysis was conducted and its ICR was tested. The PICMIN instrument consists of eleven descriptive and five analytical categories and is intended to allow comparison among countries and different studies over time. This instrument has the potential to be used not only to measure stigma, but also to serve as a basis for developing stigma-reduction interventions.

In all three phases of the study ICR values for descriptive categories indicated high reliability (APPA above 85%, Krippendorff's α above 0.75). Table 7 presents the PICMIN instrument's ICR results for analytical categories in all three phases of the study.

4.2. Print media representations of mental illness

4.2.1 Pilot phase results

4.2.1.1. General results

A total of 450 articles related to mental health issues were identified for the five weeks sampled for the study (Croatia 75, Czech Republic 203 and Slovak Republic 172). The mean number of words per article across all three countries was 237. A larger word count was associated with more positive global impression. The mean number of words in articles with positive global impression was 278, whereas the mean number of words in articles with negative global impression was 175 (Kruskal Wallis Test, $p < 0.001$).

The most frequently described psychiatric disorders among the articles analyzed were substance abuse disorders. In a large proportion of the articles no specific psychiatric

Table 8 Characteristics of the studied articles, pilot phase

Feature		Total sample N=450 N (%)	Croatia N=75 N (%)	Czech Rep. N=203 N (%)	Slovak Rep. N=172 N (%)	Test (among countries) Pearson Chi-Square X^2 , df, p value
Media type	Tabloids	153 (34)	0 (0)	75 (37)	78 (45)	$X^2=62.965$, df=4, p<0.001
	Broadsheets	256 (57)	70 (93)	115 (57)	71 (41)	
	Magazines	41 (9)	5 (7)	13 (6)	23 (14)	
Headline on the cover	Yes	34 (8)	4 (5)	26 (13)	4 (2)	$X^2=15.284$, df=2, p=0.001
	No	416 (92)	71 (95)	177 (87)	168 (98)	
Disorder mentioned (chosen groups)	F0	16 (4)	0 (0)	6 (3)	10 (6)	$X^2=51.718$, df=10, p<0.001
	F1	118 (26)	32 (43)	53 (26)	33 (19)	
	F2	60 (13)	12 (16)	19 (9)	29 (17)	
	F3	84 (19)	15 (20)	25 (12)	44 (26)	
	F4	38 (8)	14 (19)	8 (4)	16 (9)	
	F50	37 (8)	5 (7)	19 (9)	13 (8)	
Sensational content	Yes	160 (36)	36 (48)	57 (28)	67 (39)	$X^2=10.888$, df=2, p=0.004
	No	290 (64)	39 (52)	146 (72)	105 (61)	
Sensational form	Yes	139 (31)	55 (73)	50 (25)	34 (20)	$X^2=76.983$, df=2, p<0.001
	No	294 (69)	20 (27)	153 (75)	138 (80)	
Aggressive behavior	Perpetrator	115 (26)	31 (41)	32 (16)	52 (30)	$X^2=5.303$, df=6, p=0.258
	Victim	26 (6)	5 (7)	11 (5)	10 (6)	
	Both	15 (3)	1 (1)	7 (4)	7 (4)	
	None	294 (65)	38 (51)	153 (75)	103 (60)	
Aggressive act	Autoaggr.	31 (7)	3 (4)	15 (7)	13 (8)	$X^2=30.688$, df=6, p=0.006
	Hetero-aggr.	120 (27)	35 (47)	36 (18)	49 (28)	
	Both	25 (5)	1 (1)	12 (6)	12 (7)	
	None	274 (61)	36 (48)	140 (69)	98 (57)	
Length of the article	Mean number of words					Chi-Square=8,325, df=1, p=0.004*
		237	200	239	250	

*Kruskal Wallis Test; F0 stands for organic disorders, F1 for substance abuse disorders, F2 for psychotic disorders, F3 for affective disorders, F4 for neurotic disorders, and F50 for eating disorders

disorder was mentioned (Croatia 24%, Slovakia 30.2% and Czech Republic 36.5%). The opinion of a mental health professional was sought in one-third of the articles and people with mental illness were quoted in about 10% of all articles. Mental health professionals were listed as a source of information in 61.6% of the positive articles, compared to only 16.3% of the negative articles. Some of the main characteristics (distribution of the articles among different type of print media, articles positioned with headline on cover, and disorders mentioned) are presented in Table 8.

4.2.1.2. Global impression and sensationalism

Negative articles were almost equally distributed among all three countries: 37.4% of articles in the Czech Republic, 38.4% of articles in the Slovak Republic, and 40.0% articles in Croatia. Examples included items such as “a furious man was raging in the street, behaving out of control. Police patrol transferred him to the psychiatric department; he suffered from schizophrenia.” Aggressive behavior of a mentally ill person (perpetrator, victim or both) was described in 60.5% of the negative articles, versus only 5% of the positive ones. As for the specific aggressive acts, homicide was found in 24.4% of the negative articles and physical assault in 19.7%.

In all three countries, a neutral tone in headlines was predominant. Positive tone represented the smallest group with 11% in all countries, including titles such as “Prague launches helpline.” A negative tone was found in approximately one-third of the headlines; examples included “Mother gone mad!” and “Insane man pacified by the police.” Ninety-four percent of articles having a headline that was positive in tone were positive too. Similarly, 80% of those articles with a negative headline were negative as well.

4.2.1.3. Predictors of negative and positive impression of the article

NPR represents a simple “predictor” of negativity of articles within a particular category. Categories with the highest NPR ratio are: tabloids, stigmatizing headline, the headline of the article on the cover, and psychotic disorders mentioned in the article (Table 9).

Table 9 Impact of various variables on the global impression of the article or headline, pilot phase

Feature		Global impression of the article (%)				NPR
		Positive	Neutral	Mixed	Negative	
		N=99	N=73	N=106	N=172	
Country*	Croatia (N=75)	8	16	36	40	5
	Czech Rep. (N=203)	23	18	22	37	1,6
	Slovak Rep. (N=172)	27	15	20	38	1,4
Type of article	Broadsheets (N=256)	27	19	25	29	1,0
	Tabloids (N=153)	8	12	22	58	6,8
	Magazines (N=41)	39	15	22	24	0,6
Position of the article	Front page (N=34)	9	29	29	33	3,7
	Later sections (N=416)	23	15	23	39	1,7
Disorder mentioned (chosen)	F0 (N=16)	31	13	6	50	1,6
	F1 (N=118)	20	13	32	35	1,7
	F2 (N=60)	8	8	22	62	7,4
	F3 (N=84)	29	20	27	24	0,8
	F4 (N=38)	37	16	31	16	0,4
	F50 (N=37)	38	16	35	11	0,3
Source of information (chosen)	Person with MI/their families (N=95)	23	12	23	42	1,8
	Mental health professional (N=161)	38	17	28	17	0,5
	Scientific survey (N=33)	36	43	18	3	0,1
Key words (chosen)	psychosis (N=25)	12	12	20	56	4,6
	schizophrenia (N=33)	21	3	12	64	3
	psychiatric facility (N=166)	24	5	15	56	2,3
	depression/depressed (N=75)	44	24	3	29	0,7
	anorexia (N=34)	50	6	32	12	0,2
	psychotherapy (N=27)	63	7	26	4	0,1

*The percentages add up to 100 across the rows. *Global impression of the article - $\chi^2=15,236$, $df=6$, $p=0.018$; F0 stands for organic disorders, F1 for substance abuse disorders, F2 for psychotic disorders, F3 for affective disorders, F4 for neurotic disorders and F50 for eating disorders; NPR stands for Negative/Positive Ratio*

Positive global impression of the article is more frequently found in the articles from magazines, in the articles about anxiety and eating disorders, and when a mental health professional or scientific survey were used as sources of information. Among all three countries, articles from Croatia have the highest NPR of 5 vs. 1.6 in Czech Republic or 1.4 in Slovakia.

4.2.1.4. Aggressive behavior and aggressive acts mentioned in the article

Aggressive behavior was associated with persons with mental illness in 49.3% of articles in Croatia, 24.6% of articles in Czech Republic and 40.1% of articles in Slovakia (Table 8). In the “aggressive act” category people with mental illness were predominantly presented as dangerous, involved in crime-related stories such as committing homicide (Croatia 48.7%, Slovakia 30.2% and Czech Republic 27.0%), or physical assault (Croatia 30.8%, Slovakia 25.7% and Czech Republic 20.7%). These items included messages such as “a 59-year old woman attacked her sleeping co-patient in the ward block of a psychiatric department. Without the intervention of a passerby witness, she would have beaten her victim to death with a chair.”

4.2.1.5. Positive and negative statements in the articles

The positive and negative statements from the articles were grouped accordingly to their common features in order to form meaningful sub-groups and groups, reflecting overall conclusion or main emphasis of the article. Four groups were identified - mental illness as a medical condition, mental illness and society, psychiatric services, and mental illness and aggression. Subsequent sub-groups and examples of the statements are shown in Table 10.

4.2.2. Violence and mental disorders in the Czech and Slovak print media

In addition to the analysis for the pilot study sample, another detailed analysis on aggression and mental disorders in the print media was performed. Only articles from

Table 10 Statements from the articles grouped in the main message sub-groups and groups, pilot phase

Main message		Statements from the articles
Group	Sub-group	(examples)
Mental illness as a medical condition	Prevention	Everyone can have MI; number of people with MI problems is increasing; prevention of MI is important; life style can contribute to development of MI
	Treatment	Persons with MI can recover with treatment; persons with MI should get treatment; treatment is hard and takes a long time
	Consequences	MI makes life difficult; persons with MI are lonely; accepting the diagnosis is hard; psychiatric diagnosis can be misused by patient
	Specific conditions	Substance abuse disorders endanger young people; alcohol abuse is a serious problem; persons with PTSD are faking their symptoms for secondary gains
Mental illness and health in society	Stigma	People with MI are: strange, unpredictable, irresponsible, incompetent, incapable and unlikely to succeed; PTSD is used as an excuse for murder
	Responsibility of society	Economical and social conditions can lead to MI; society can provide support for persons with MI; persons with MI can be integrated into society
	Politics	Mental health is not a priority for the government; if people with MI act illegally, they are not punished; NGOs are providing help and support for persons with PTSD;
	Media	Media headlines can have negative influence on mental health state; media influences prevalence of eating disorders; anti-stigma activities are important
	Celebrities	Celebrities could serve as positive / negative prototypes for persons with MI; psychiatric diagnosis determines the career of celebrity, persons with MI could be successful despite mental condition, persons with MI can be creative
	Family	Families of patients with MI suffer; relatives can also develop MI; living with a person with MI can be difficult
Psychiatric services	Misuse of psychiatry	Psychiatry can be misused as punishment; psychiatry can be abused by justice system, politicians, authorities; psychiatrists are not providing adequate care
	Psychiatric institutions	There is lack of psychiatrists and other mental health professionals; psychiatric hospitals are perceived as dangerous institutions; psychiatric care is good
	Psychiatric research	Research in psychiatry is making progress; research in psychiatry is important
Mental illness and aggression	People with mental illness as offenders	People with MI behave in a strange and dangerous manner; persons with MI commit criminal offenses; persons with MI are aggressive
	People with mental illness as victims	Persons with MI can not defend themselves; persons with MI are vulnerable; aggression is not associated only with persons with MI

MI – mental illness

Czech and Slovak Republic were included, thus enabling more precise interpretation of the data.

One third of the analyzed articles (N=117, 31.2%) reported that persons with mental disorders were involved in some kind of aggressive behavior. A vast majority of these articles presented mentally ill individuals as perpetrators (N=84, 71.8% articles). In 19 articles (16.2%), they were presented as victims of aggressive behavior; in 14 articles (11.9 %) they were placed in the role of both victim and perpetrator at the same time. The rest of the analyzed articles (N=258, 68.8%), contained no information that a person with mental disorder was involved in aggressive activity.

Persons with psychotic disorders were most frequently presented as perpetrators (N=24, 50.0%), whereas persons with organic disorders were most often presented as victims of aggressive behavior (N=2, 12.5%). Eating disorders (N=30, 93.8%) and anxiety disorders (N=22, 91.7%) were most often presented without any mention of aggressive behavior (Table 11).

Table 11 Portrayals of persons with different psychiatric disorders according to their role in the aggressive behavior mentioned in the article, N (%)

Disorder mentioned	F0 N=16	F1 N=86	F2 N=48	F3 N=69	F4 N=24	F50 N=32	Other PD N=30	NRSPD N=127	Total N=375
Perpetrator	3 (18.8)	14 (16.3)	24 (50.0)	10 (14.5)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (20.0)	33 (26.0)	84 (22.4)
Victim	2 (12.5)	2 (2.3)	3 (6.3)	4 (5.8)	2 (8.3)	2 (6.3)	2 (6.7)	6 (4.7)	19 (5.1)
Both	3 (18.8)	5 (5.8)	6 (12.5)	3 (4.4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (6.7)	3 (2.4)	14 (3.7)
No aggressive behavior	8 (50.0)	65 (75.6)	15 (31.3)	52 (75.4)	22 (91.7)	30 (93.8)	20 (66.7)	85 (66.9)	258 (68.8)

Monte Carlo test, $p < .0001$; F0 stands for organic disorders, F1 stands for substance abuse disorders, F2 stands for psychotic disorders, F3 stands for affective disorders, F4 stands for neurotic disorders, F50 stands for eating disorders, "Other PD" stands for personality disorders, including antisocial personality disorder; child and adolescent disorders, including conduct disorder; mental retardation and sexual disorders; and NRSPD stands for Not related to any specific psychiatric disorders.

Self-directed aggression behavior was reported in 19 (5.1%) articles mentioning completed suicide, 27 (7.2%) with attempted suicide, and in 8 (2.1%) articles self-harm was addressed. Completed suicide most often appeared in articles dealing with affective

disorders (N=9, 2.4%), whereas attempted suicide was mostly mentioned in “non related to any specific psychiatric disorder” articles (N=18, 4.8%). Homicide cases were mentioned in 51 articles (13.6%) and various forms of physical assault toward other people in 48 (12.8%) articles. Aggression against objects was revealed in 22 (5.9%) articles. Although homicide was associated mostly with psychotic (N=19, 5.1%) and affective disorders (N=13, 3.5%), cases of physical assault were mostly mentioned in articles dealing with subjects with psychotic (N=15, 4.0%), and organic disorders (N=4, 1.1%). Aggression against objects appeared mostly in articles coded as “others” (N=4, 1.1%), which dealt with child and adolescent disorders and personality disorders.

Articles in which persons with mental disorders were presented as perpetrators were more frequently coded as negative, while those in which they were presented as victims were more frequently coded as mixed. Articles without any aggressive behavior were on the other hand significantly more often coded as de-stigmatizing or neutral (Table 12).

Table 12 The global impression of the article and the role of person in the aggressive behavior, N (%)

Global impression	Positive (N=126)	Neutral (N=38)	Mixed (N=53)	Negative (N=158)
Perpetrator	2 (1.6)	1 (2.6)	4 (7.6)	77 (48.7)
Victim	1 (0.8)	2 (5.3)	5 (9.4)	11 (7.0)
Both	3 (2.4)	1 (2.6)	3 (5.7)	7 (4.4)
No aggressive behavior	120 (95.2)	34 (89.5)	41 (77.4)	63 (39.9)

Monte Carlo test, $p < .0001$

The proportion of articles on the cover with aggressive behavior mentioned is similar to the later sections of the media. Type of media (newspapers vs. magazines) did not have any impact on the proportion of articles in regard to the aggressive behavior mentioned. The length of the article with and without aggressive behavior mentioned did not differ significantly, either (Table 13).

Table 13 Various characteristics of the articles with or without aggressive behavior, N (%)

		Aggressive behavior mentioned	No aggressive behavior mentioned
Position of the article*	On cover (N=30)	11 (36.7)	19 (63.3)
	Later sections (N=345)	106 (30.7)	239 (69.3)
Type of print media**	Newspapers (N=340)	106 (31.2)	234 (68.8)
	Magazines (N=35)	11 (31.4)	24 (68.6)
Words count*		371.6	381.7
* $\chi^2=0.4540$ $df=1$, $p=.5005$		** $\chi^2=0.0009$ $df=1$, $p=.9755$	* t -test, $p=.8243$

4.2.3. Main phase results

Print media representations of mental illness in Croatia, Czech Republic and Slovakia significantly differed in the type of media distribution, use of sensationalistic writing, association of aggressive behavior with persons with mental illness, and the distribution of the global impression of the headline (Table 14). The full name of the mentally ill person was revealed in more than one third of all articles in all countries. The media described persons with mental illness in terms of a crime from 26% of articles in Slovakia to 37% of articles in Croatia. Stigmatising representations of mentally ill persons were found in 28.8% of articles in Czech Republic, 35.3% of articles in Croatia and 38.6% of articles in Slovakia.

Table 14 Characteristics of the studied articles, main phase

Feature		Croatia N=238 N (%)	Czech Rep. N=226 N (%)	Slovak Rep. N=158 N (%)	Test (among countries) Pearson Chi-Square X^2 , df , p value
Media type	Tabloids	21 (8.9)	59 (26.1)	79 (50.0)	$X^2=140.43$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$
	Broadsheets	211 (88.1)	142 (62.8)	47 (29.8)	
	Magazines	7 (3.0)	25 (11.1)	32 (20.2)	
Headline on the cover	Yes	17 (7.1)	25 (11.1)	4 (2.5)	$X^2=9.92$, $df=2$, $p=0.007$
	No	221 (92.9)	201 (88.9)	154 (97.5)	
Full name of the mentally ill revealed	Yes	92 (38.7)	80 (35.4)	66 (41.8)	$X^2=1.62$, $df=2$, $p=0.444$
	No	146 (61.3)	146 (64.6)	92 (58.2)	
Crime story	Yes	88 (37.0)	80 (35.4)	41 (26.0)	$X^2=5.69$, $df=2$, $p=0.006$
	No	150 (63.0)	146 (64.6)	117 (74.0)	
Sensational.	Yes - high	52 (21.8)	20 (8.8)	24 (15.2)	$X^2=35.01$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$
	Yes - low	103 (43.3)	68 (30.1)	55 (34.8)	
	No	83 (34.9)	138 (61.1)	79 (50.0)	
Role in aggressive behavior	Perpetrator	85 (35.7)	63 (27.9)	35 (22.1)	$p=0.010^*$
	Victim	14 (5.9)	10 (4.4)	8 (5.1)	
	Both	5 (2.1)	0 (0)	3 (1.9)	
	None	134 (56.3)	153 (67.7)	112 (70.9)	
Type of aggressive act	Autoaggr.	18 (7.6)	25 (11.0)	11 (7.0)	$p=0.065^*$
	Heteroaggr.	85 (35.9)	63 (27.8)	42 (26.6)	
	Both	3 (1.2)	8 (3.5)	1 (0.6)	
	None	132 (55.3)	131 (57.7)	104 (65.8)	
Global impression – headline	Destigmatising	12 (5.0)	10 (4.4)	11 (7.0)	$X^2=16.71$, $df=4$, $p=0.002$
	Neutral	184 (77.3)	202 (89.4)	122 (77.2)	
	Stigmatizing	42 (17.7)	14 (6.2)	25 (15.8)	
Global impression – article	Destigmatising	54 (22.7)	70 (31.0)	39 (24.7)	$X^2=9.11$, $df=6$, $p=0.168$
	Neutral	76 (31.9)	77 (34.0)	46 (29.1)	
	Mixed	24 (10.1)	14 (6.2)	12 (7.6)	
	Stigmatising	84 (35.3)	65 (28.8)	61 (38.6)	

*Fisher's exact test

5. Discussion

5.1. Discussion on the development of the PICMIN instrument

Although qualitative studies dealing with the stigma of mental illness in print media have mainly used content analysis or discourse analysis (Stout et al., 2004), there is no standardised measurement of the stigma of mental illness in print media, particularly for use in international studies, using clearly operationalised definitions. Our research team has developed a standardised and objective measure of the stigma of mental illness in print media - PICMIN instrument. The PICMIN instrument consists of eleven descriptive and five analytical categories, enabling a detailed description and analysis of the presentation of mental illness in the print media.

The instrument was developed using the principles of content analysis, mainly focusing on the quantitative interpretation of the analysis of media messages, however aspects of the qualitative content analysis were also included in the instrument as recommended by researchers (Macnamara, 2006; Mayring, 2001; Miovska et al., 2008b; Patton, 2002). This method of simultaneously incorporating quantitative and qualitative content analysis was used in the process of defining categories and scheme coding, allowing the use of the instrument in assessing the tonal qualities (global impression as named in this instrument) of the articles like sensationalism, positive and negative statements or quotes from the article or the contextual factors such as sources quoted. Hence, simultaneously incorporating qualitative and quantitative content analysis enabled multiple coding for the “disorder mentioned”, “source of information” and “type of aggressive act” categories. All other categories are exhaustive and mutually exclusive; only one code can be attributed to the category.

This instrument has a similar definition of the global impression of the text category as used by Wahl (2002) reflecting the overall tone of the article as negative (stigmatising), positive (destigmatising), neutral, or mixed. Previous studies have shown the relevance of associating the level of the articles’ stigmatisation (global impression as named in this instrument) with certain categories; such as disorder mentioned, aggression, and source of

information (Anderson, 2003; Byrne, 2003; Corrigan et al., 2005; Francis et al., 2004; Stuart, 2003). The PICMIN instrument is designed for this kind of analysis.

The establishment of ICR is essential in content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004; Neuendorf, 2002). After testing the initial version of the instrument, unsatisfactory ICR scores were found for categories such as “sensationalism content,” “sensationalism style,” “global impression of heading,” and “global impression of text” (Table 7) prompting the research team to improve a final version of the instrument with strictly defined criteria for the coding of these categories. Defined criteria for coding, along with joint education of coders, enabled higher ICR scores in the main phase and produced an acceptable level of reliability that many similar studies have lacked (Coverdale et al., 2002).

5.2. Discussion on the print media representations of mental illness

5.2.1. Discussion on the pilot phase results

Compared to similar studies, mostly conducted in English speaking countries - Australia (Francis et al., 2005), Canada (Day & Page, 1986; Stuart, 2003), New Zealand (Coverdale et al., 2002), USA (Corrigan et al., 2005), UK (Philo, 1996) and a few others - Serbia (Bilic & Georgaca, 2007), Italy (Carpiniello et al., 2007), Turkey (Boke et al., 2007), some new observations are worth mentioning. These include the length of the article and its impact on the global impression of the article, the relationship between the coding of the headline and the article itself, and the vast disconnection between the real prevalence of some disorders and their coverage in the print media.

The most surprising result in the pilot phase was the vast difference in the length of the articles when grouped in positive and negative clusters. “Positive” articles were more than 50% longer than “negative” ones. This finding may be an unfortunate result of today’s journalistic practice where space on the page means money. Correct expressions such as “a person with schizophrenia” are replaced with the label “schizophrenic” and facts on therapy and recovery are dispensable. This finding corresponds to articles in magazines having a much better NPR of 0.6 compared with broadsheets (NPR=1.0) and

especially tabloids (NPR=6.8). One conclusion could be that longer articles are more positive because the journalist has more room to give accurate details.

5.2.1.1. Coverage of the mental disorders

A similar study completed in Australia (Francis et al., 2004) found that 19.3% articles in newspapers were related to depression, a finding comparable to what has been found in all three countries in the pilot phase of the study (18.7%). In contrast to Croatia and the Slovak Republic, where the coverage of affective disorder was higher (20.0% and 25.6% respectively), in the Czech Republic only 12.3 % of the articles covered these conditions. These results are in line with the analysis done in the Czech Republic in the 70's by Janík and Kubíčková, who also reported that affective disorders were mentioned less frequently (1975). Although much has been done to raise awareness of depression in the Czech Republic, it seems that more progress is still needed in this sphere. Interestingly, it appears that substance abuse disorders at least seem to be covered according to their real prevalence in the three countries, as the abuse of alcohol and so-called "soft drugs" is relatively high compared to other regions. All three countries are in the top ten countries in Europe regarding alcohol consumption (WHO, 2009). This is not the case, however, when comparing the correlation of actual rates of mental illness in the populations for other conditions (schizophrenia and eating disorders over-represented, anxiety disorders, dementia, on the other hand, under-represented).

Disturbing finding is that only five articles out of 60 where psychosis was mentioned were coded as positive, with similar results across countries. Psychosis seems to be the most stigmatized mental disorder, a result also found in several similar studies (Boke et al., 2007; Francis et. al., 2004; Nairn et al., 2001; Stuart, 2003). Building upon the results of recent study among German citizens, even improving mental health literacy about mental illnesses and in particular about schizophrenia does not necessarily lead to improvement of public attitudes toward people with mental illness (Angermeyer et al., 2009). Combating the prejudice against this severe mental condition remains one of the biggest challenges for the anti-stigma campaigns in Central Europe also. On the other hand eating disorders achieved the best score from all mental disorders, where NPR=0.3.

5.2.1.2. Aggressive behavior and aggressive acts

Until now, countries in Central Europe have not been well represented in the long list of studies that have found a connection between mental health/illness issues and violence (Allen & Nairn, 1997; Corrigan et al., 2005; Philo et al., 1994; Ward, 1997). The one exception is a Serbian study (Bilic & Georgaca, 2007) that revealed that the topic of dangerousness of individuals with mental illness was present in approximately one-third of all newspaper articles.

A similar study conducted in Great Britain came to the conclusion that 46% of articles contained references to crime (Ward, 1997). These numbers are very close to our findings from the pilot phase, although they vary among the countries studied. Notably, the rates of articles dealing with aggression of people with mental illness is much higher in Croatia (49%), which might be related to the recent 1991-1995 war. Even though the suicide rate has decreased in the post-wartime period (Bosnar et al., 2005), cases of suicide attempts and completed suicides among veterans with PTSD are not rare (Loncar et al., 2004) and significant attention is still paid to these incidents in the Croatian print media.

Nevertheless, in all three countries the level of portrayal of individuals with mental illness as perpetrators of aggressive acts is high even though studies have shown that individuals with mental illness who are not also using drugs or alcohol are not significantly more likely to commit violent crime than the general population (Steadman et al., 1998; Ward, 1997), with the implication that media accounts are biased and stigmatizing. Empirical data are showing that even severe mental illness alone did not predict future violence, which was rather associated with historical (past violence, physical abuse), clinical (substance abuse), dispositional (age, sex, income) and contextual (recent divorce, unemployment) factors (Elbogen & Johnson, 2009). As much as these findings may be discouraging for mental health consumers, the more it should encourage all anti-stigma campaigners to continue their efforts. These negative stereotypes result in decreased life opportunities and loss of independent functioning of persons with mental illness (Henderson & Thornicroft, 2009; Hinshaw & Stier, 2008).

When analyzing what kind of aggressive acts are most often connected with individuals with mental illness, based on results from the pilot phase it might be concluded that

hetero-aggressive acts (homicide, physical assault, and aggression against objects) outnumbered the auto-aggressive ones (committed or attempted suicide, self-harm) almost two-fold in the Czech Republic, three-fold in Slovakia and nine-fold in Croatia (Nawková et al., 2012).

5.2.1.3. Source of information mentioned in the article together with mental disorders

Although individuals with mental illness or their families appeared in some articles as sources of information, those articles tended to be negative rather than positive (NPR=1.8). This is in contrast to other studies which showed that presentation of mental illnesses in the form of self-portraits by the affected persons resulted in their positive image accentuating their ability to overcome stigma (Byrne, 2003; Nairn & Coverdale, 2005). This is also in contrast with recommendations for responsible journalism, which suggest that articles that involve individuals with mental illness and their families should focus not only on symptoms or consequences of the illness, but also on therapy and recovery, showing a more positive picture of living with mental illness (Nairn, 1999). It seems not to be the case in the three countries studied.

Over one-third of articles had quotes or perspectives of mental health professionals which is significantly higher than the 15% reported by Wahl from the USA (Wahl, 2001). In contrast with the negative impact of presenting the patients as a source of information, an association between the presence of a mental health professional in the story and a positive global impression rating (NPR=0.5) has been found. This is also consistent with previous research comparing media representations of general medical issues with psychiatric ones. Where general medicine has a “bad doctor” focus, psychiatry has a “bad patient” angle (Byrne, 2000). An even greater predictor of positive outcome than inclusion of a mental health professional is reference to a scientific survey or public inquiry (NPR=0.1).

5.2.1.4. Qualitative analysis of the positive and negative statements

Qualitative analysis revealed what topics are dealt with articles related to mental illness. The first group consists of articles describing mental illness as a “medical condition”, including prevention, treatment, as well as its consequences. The biggest group consisted of articles in relation to “society”, in which dominated the issues of stigmatization and politics. “Psychiatric services” group was represented with leading themes; misuse of psychiatry and quality of mental health care. In many articles “aggression” connected with mental illness presented the fundamental motive and was therefore identified as a group (Table 10).

5.2.2. Discussion on the topic of violence and mental disorders in the Czech and Slovak print media

5.2.2.1. Organic disorders

Although organic disorders (mostly dementia) were mentioned in only 4% of the articles, the fact that half of these cases were mentioned in the context of some kind of aggressive behavior should not be overlooked. It has been suggested that subjects with dementia often become agitated and violent at home or in psychiatric facilities (Lynch & Noel, 2010), but rarely are they engaged in well-planned and pre-meditated killings (Hodgins et al., 2008). Looking at this problem from a different perspective, Grekin and colleagues analyzed characteristics of male criminals with organic brain syndrome and found that those with an early onset of criminal activity (by age 18) show a more global, persistent, and stable pattern of offending than those with a late onset (Grekin et al., 2001). Negative stereotyping of organic disorders may pose a significant threat to society’s perception of old age, thus increasing the likelihood of organic disorders joining psychotic disorders on the top of the “most dangerous disorders”.

5.2.2.2. Psychotic disorders

Not surprisingly, schizophrenia was most frequently mentioned in the context of homicide (40% of the articles). While epidemiological investigations are consistently showing that the proportions of persons with schizophrenia who commit crimes vary from one study to another, the elevations in risk among those with schizophrenia when compared to the general population remains similar (Hodgins, 1998). In a systematic review using meta-analysis, Large and colleagues found that a pooled proportion of 6.5% of all homicide offenders had a diagnosis of schizophrenia (Large et al., 2009). Given that the lifetime prevalence of schizophrenia is estimated to be between 0.5% and 1%, there is a disproportionate number of homicide offenders with schizophrenia. Fazel et al. identified 20 studies that compared the risk of violence in people with schizophrenia and the risk of violence in the general population. In conclusion, although people with schizophrenia were nearly 20 times more likely to have committed murder than people in the general population, only one in 300 people with schizophrenia had killed someone, a similar risk to that seen in people with substance abuse (Fazel et al., 2009).

5.2.2.3. Affective disorders

Both suicides and suicide attempts were most frequently reported in the context of affective disorders, which reflects the observation that out of all mental disorders, depression and bipolar disorder poses the highest risk for suicide (Hawton et al., 2003; Sarchiapone et al., 2009). Furthermore, a significant proportion of articles reported on subjects with affective disorders who committed homicide. This finding contradicts a study by Rowe and colleagues indicating that depression was rarely associated with violence and the focus was generally on self-harm (Rowe et al., 2003). However, subjects with bipolar affective disorder and substance abuse co-morbidity are reported to commit more violent crimes than the general population (Hodgins et al., 2008). Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that suicide and homicide are both extremely complex phenomena that depend on many factors, not just the diagnosis.

5.2.2.4. Neurotic and eating disorders

Not unexpectedly, eating disorders together with neurotic disorders received the best coverage in terms of connection with dangerousness. None of the 56 articles dealing with neurotic or eating disorders portrayed these patients as criminal offenders. Of particular interest is the fact that among 32 articles that mentioned eating disorders, none reported on self harm even though the lifetime rate of self-injurious behavior occurrence in person with eating disorders is as high as 34% (Paul et al., 2002).

5.2.2.5. Substance abuse disorders and “other psychiatric disorders”

Substance abuse and antisocial personality disorders are commonly reported as comorbidities which are significantly contributing to the increase incidence of violence in people with severe mental illness (Elbogen & Johnson, 2009; Richard Devantoy et al., 2009). Likewise persons with severe mental illness who have a history of conduct disorder by mid-adolescence are at increased risk for aggressive behavior and violent crime (Hodgins et al., 2008). Even though the substance abuse disorders received the widest coverage among the main diagnostic clusters, interestingly in terms of revealing the patient as a perpetrator it did not by far reach the high prevalence of psychotic disorders (16% vs. 50%), in contrary, the vast majority of such articles (76%) did not mention violent crime at all.

Conduct disorder in childhood and antisocial personality disorder in adulthood were not treated as separate diagnosis because of extremely low frequency of endorsement. This is a notable finding, as the evidence is showing that the individuals with antisocial personality disorder have very often criminal history (De Brito & Hodgins, 2009), e.g. prisoners are about ten times more likely to have antisocial personality disorder, than the general population (Fazel & Danesh, 2002). When analyzing the whole cluster “other psychiatric disorders” that included these conditions, distinct link with violence commitments has been traced. This is however mirrored in the print media less dramatically than one would anticipate based on the evidence (Nawka et al., 2012).

5.2.2.6. Psychiatric patient: Criminal or victim?

A vast majority of articles presented mentally ill people as perpetrators. Corrigan et al. (2005) found that only 4% of the articles portrayed mentally ill people as victims, which is very close to our finding of 5%. A high perpetrator/victim ratio may falsely suggest that mentally ill individuals are more likely to be the aggressive initiators of violence rather than victims of aggressive behavior, even though victimization is more common than aggressive behavior among these individuals (Hodgins et al., 2008). Similar studies in other countries reported that stories related to aggressive behavior often ended up in the front sections of newspaper, making them more visible to readers (Corrigan et al., 2005; Francis et al., 2004; Meagher et al., 1995), but this was not the case in our sample, as those articles were almost equally distributed on the cover as in the later sections.

Although there is an association of homicide with specific mental disorders, particularly in respect to phases of illness in schizophrenia (Richard Devontoy et al., 2009), antisocial personality disorder, and/or drug or alcohol abuse, the dominance of dangerousness and criminality depictions in the media of mental illness is overstated. Mental disorders in general do increase the risk of homicidal violence by two-fold in men and six-fold in women (Richard Devontoy et al., 2009), but our findings reveal disproportionate depictions of violence and aggression in all main psychiatric diagnostic clusters except for neurotic and eating disorders.

5.2.3. Discussion on the main phase results

The distribution of the articles depending on the media type significantly differs in studied countries. Results of the main phase sample show that in Croatia only 3% of the articles were published in weekly periodicals (magazines) and a small proportion of the articles was found in the tabloids (8.9%). Contrary to the Czech Republic and Slovakia where three of the six most read daily newspapers are defined as tabloids, in Croatia among the six most read daily newspapers only one daily newspaper ("24 sata") is defined as a tabloid. Surprisingly, although Croatia has the lowest distribution of the articles in tabloids, sensationalism was found in 65.1% of the articles covering the topic

of mental illness. This finding coincides with previous research which explains that Croatian daily print media events fulfil the basic format criteria of being defined as a broadsheet; however the content of their reporting about mentally ill persons is much closer to a sensationalistic style (McQuail, 2008).

The PICMIN instrument establishes the article's prominence, with concern to the article's headline on the cover of the media. Headlines of the articles from the Czech Republic were four times more often on the cover when compared to Slovak articles. A closer look at the number of articles in the pilot phase that were published on the front page reveals another interesting finding. The NPR of 3.7 for the front page articles is higher compared to the later sections where NPR=1.7, thus augmenting the negative impact of the story on the public. The explanation seems clear: negative stories attract more attention and therefore sell the media product better than positive ones (Stuart, 2003).

The instrument also aids in the determination of full name disclosure of the mentally ill. To our knowledge, none of the previous studies examined this. Strikingly, the full name of the mentally ill person was revealed in more than one-third of all articles in all countries. This finding is a clear call for action for mental health advocates to challenge negative media portrayals of the mentally ill and insist on ethical and responsible journalism in Croatia, Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Unfortunately, also results from the main phase confirm a strong connection between mental illness and violence, which was already determined in previous research (Allen & Nairn, 1997; Angermeyer & Schulze, 2001; Commonwealth of Australia, 2010; Corrigan et al., 2005; Francis et al., 2001; Philo et al., 1994). Aggressive behavior was associated with persons with mental illness in 44.7% of articles in Croatia, 42.3% of articles in Czech Republic and 34.2% of articles in Slovakia. In Croatia, 35.7% of articles describe mentally ill persons as a perpetrator of the aggressive behavior.

Mentally ill persons were described as victims of aggression in 4.4 – 5.9% of the articles, similar to the findings of Angermeyer's study (2001). When analysing which kind of aggressive acts are more often connected with individuals with mental illness, it has been concluded that hetero-aggressive acts (homicide, physical assault, aggression against objects, sexually aggressive and verbal threatening) outnumbered auto-aggressive ones

(committed or attempted suicide, self-harm) almost two-fold in Czech Republic, four-fold in Slovakia and five-fold in Croatia.

The proportion of the stigmatising representations of mentally ill persons that was found in our research study (in 28.8% articles in Czech Republic, 35.3% articles in Croatia and 38.6% articles in Slovakia) is similar to the findings of Wahl's analysis of newspaper coverage in the USA (2002).

5.2.4. Comparison of the results from the pilot and main phase

A comparison of the results from the pilot and main phases shows that de-stigmatising representations of the mentally ill have increased in the Czech Republic from 23.2% to 31% and almost three-fold in Croatia (from 8% to 22.7%). Since Croatia has a history of joint education of health professionals and health journalists through the annual "Media and Health" course (Rukavina et al., 2007), members of the Croatian part of a research team conducted an anti-stigma workshop at the "Media and health" course in 2009 with the aim to present the results of the pilot phase and clarify recommendations on responsible reporting about mental illnesses.

Recently, in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia, specialised press conferences for health journalists covering issues of mental health have been introduced. In the future some encouraging changes following these interventions might be tracked, as journalists have been in closer contact with mental health professionals.

5.2.5. Limitations of the research study

There are several limitations of this study. Firstly, in the pilot phase, the smaller number of articles in Croatia might have resulted from the use of a different type of search service provided by the agencies collecting the articles. In contrast to the Czech and Slovak web-based search engines using only keywords, the Croatian agency used real people who excluded articles that did not have a mental illness as the relevant content of the article. Some of the relevant articles could have been overlooked due to this different approach.

ICR scores of the pilot phase indicated low reliability for “sensationalism” (both content and form), “global impression of the headline” and “global impression of the text” categories, hence final coding for these categories was made by consensus.

Second, there is a substantial difference among samples from the pilot, intermediate and main phases. The aim of the intermediate phase was to test the ICR and assess face and content validity of the corrected version of the PICMIN instrument, hence all nine coders analysed the same sample (N=40). The ICR results from testing the corrected version of the instrument were reliable for all analytical categories besides the “global impression of the headline” category (APPA = 77,36%, Krippendorff’s $\alpha = 0,54$), so additional coder training was organised to improve ICR scores in that category. Third, coder training and establishing reliable ICR scores is a time-consuming process.

Content analysis validity is achieved through an understanding of research objectives, immersion in the message pool (preliminary reading of a sub-set of relevant content) and careful selection of the sample of media content to be analysed (Macnamara, 2006; Neuendorf, 2002). Since time sampling of the pilot phase (based on weeks as the defined time period) caused over-presentation of some stories, the time frame for the main phase sample was changed. Articles for the main phase were taken from 42 days (randomly selected six times each day of the week, thus constructing six composite weeks) in the time period of April 1st 2009 – March 31st 2010. The PICMIN instrument has face and content validity established through a lengthy development process, containing themes and items identified through a search of the literature and review by many experts followed by further revisions. The construct validity is asserted to be the most valuable indicator of the validity of an instrument established through practical application over time (Macnamara, 2006; Neuendorf, 2002) demonstrating the instrument’s replicability.

An additional limitation of the study is that all coders were mental health professionals. This may be a criterion for quality assurance regarding the accuracy of scientific and medical information provided in the news items. However, stigma research has shown that mental health professionals differ in their perspective on what constitutes a source of stigmatisation from other groups, such as service users and family members (Commonwealth of Australia, 2010; Rose & Thornicroft, 2010; Ross & Goldner, 2009; Tranulis et al., 2008). Future research and application of the PICMIN instrument should

gain a different perspective by including service users or family members as coders. There is also a possibility of creating a group of coders within the media scientists and to compare the results with mental health professionals or service users as coders.

Another limitation is that the PICMIN instrument, like most of stigma research (Tranulis et al., 2008), focuses on negative aspects. Positive aspects of media representations can be more emphasised with the further analysis of the data that the PICMIN instrument provides, using quotes from the articles (positive/negative statements).

Even though the PICMIN instrument is not designed to examine representations of mental illness in metaphoric terms (Boke et al., 2007; Magliano et al., 2010; Thornicroft et al., 2009), the inclusion of pejorative keywords in the main phase group keyword media search could have an impact on the global impression of the article. Future sensitivity analysis differentiating articles with labelling and pejorative keywords from neutral keywords could be done.

Further, the PICMIN instrument is intended for use only with print media, and as in almost all other studies in this field, only written materials are analysed, so important visual information, such as photos, are omitted from the coding process.

5.3. Joint actions of mental health professionals and journalists

Even in the current era of global internet, print media still present a powerful channel through which information can be transferred to society. Regarding depictions of mental illness, however, newspapers and magazines have become social structures for perpetuating stigma (Corrigan et al., 2005).

Increased collaboration between mental health and media professionals are promising, but clearly not sufficient. More activities such as anti-stigma efforts and proactive lobbying are needed in order to reshape the negative stereotypes and attenuate the stigmatising potential surrounding mental illnesses. Journalists should be continuously informed about mental illness and sensitised to the effects that negative media portrayal may have on stigma and on consumers' experience of stigma. In order to promote

responsible journalism principles, national mental health advocates and media associations should develop deontological protocols on news reporting concerning mental illness, as already for instance adopted in Croatia for reporting about suicide (Koic et al., 2005).

In Czech Republic we have already initiated activities that should tighten the mental health professionals together with media professionals (journalists, editors, etc.). Interviews have been given to the newspapers and journalists have been approached via press conferences and the issue of the poor coverage of psychiatric themes has been discussed. In our case, special efforts to de-stigmatize mental illness in the media should be directed toward the psychotic disorders, especially schizophrenia and organic disorders, as their prevalence in recent decades is steeply rising. Journalists and other media-related professionals have been encouraged to work on more comprehensive depictions of persons with mental illness, which will reflect a more accurate reality of their lives. This will not only benefit those suffering so far from the negative stereotyping of mental illness, but also society as a whole by enhancing the overall quality of media representations.

Moreover a prize for the best article on the issue of mental health/illness in the print media has been introduced as an direct effect of this research project. This prize has been awarded by the Czech Psychiatric Association ČLS JEP since 2010. The quality of the applications is being measured by the PICMIN instrument.

Some encouraging changes following these interventions might be traced, as journalists have been in closer contact with mental health professionals. These new activities, however, are just the initial steps in what must be a longer-term effort at improving mutual collaboration (Nawková et al, 2010).

6. Conclusion and outcomes of the research study

Media are considered to be the public's primary source of information regarding mental health (Anderson, 2003; Hannigan, 1999; Philo et al., 1994). They create a media standard and determine what is considered acceptable and normal by society. And even though we live in the era of the internet, print media are still among the most frequently identified sources in respect to the mental health coverage.

Many studies have shown that the portrayal of the mentally ill people is frequently negative and contributes to their stigmatization (Coverdale et al., 2002; Huang & Priebe, 2003; Lawrie, 2000). Such a stigmatising depiction has a negative impact on these people's lives; public's attitudes to them; and also on decision-making in social policy and in the legislature (Cutcliffe & Hannigan, 2001). These attitudes are then widely spread among the public, where they persist, become a part of the culture (Allen & Nairn, 1997), and ultimately result in discrimination against people with psychiatric disorders (Corrigan, 2004). On the other hand, media can play an important role in reducing this stigmatisation by providing adequate information about this topic and engaging in antistigma campaigns (Holcnerová et al., 2010).

Although qualitative studies dealing with the stigma of mental illness in print media have mainly used content analysis or discourse analysis (Stout et al., 2004), there was no standardised measurement of the stigma of mental illness in print media, particularly for use in international studies using clearly operationalized definitions.

This research project had two major objectives; firstly, to develop a standardised and objective instrument to measure stigma of mental illness in print media - PICMIN (Picture of Mental Illness in Newspapers); and secondly, to measure and compare the current situation of the portrayal of mental health/illness in Croatian, Czech and Slovak print media using the PICMIN instrument.

As for the first objective, the research team conducted a three-phase study to develop the instrument based on the principles of content analysis and tested its inter-coder reliability (ICR). In the first phase, keyword search and ICR assessment was performed on articles from Croatia (75), Czech Republic (203), and Slovakia (172). The second phase consisted

of instrument revision and training, along with ICR reassessment on 40 articles from USA and UK. In the third, main phase articles from Croatia (238), Czech Republic (226), and Slovakia (158) were analysed with the final version of the PICMIN instrument. Across three countries ICR was found acceptable to assess mental illness representations related to stigma in the print media (Rukavina et al., in press).

Picture of Mental Illness in newspapers (PICMIN) instrument consists of eleven descriptive and five analytical categories. The PICMIN instrument is intended to allow comparison among countries and different studies over time. This instrument has the potential to be used not only to measure stigma, but also to serve as a basis to develop stigma-reduction interventions.

As for the second objective, the research team conducted a comparative study on the depiction of mental health/illness issues in the print media, which was done in three countries with different languages. The media representations of mental illness show a few common features across the countries that we studied. We report a similarly high level of stigmatizing articles, clearly exceeding the ones with destigmatizing statements. Tabloids clearly dominated in stigmatizing category, representing the strongest source out of the different types of print media. Longer articles tend to have much lesser stigmatizing potential and some mental disorders are over-represented when comparing the correlation of their actual rate in the populations (schizophrenia and eating disorders) and some (anxiety disorders and dementia) are on the other hand, under-represented. As for the source of information in the articles, the greatest predictor of positive outcome is a reference from a scientific survey and from a mental health professional.

Moreover we have been able to identify four major clusters of topics depicting mental health/illness issues; mental illness as a “medical condition”; “mental health/illness and its relation to society”, “psychiatric services”; and “aggression and psychiatry”.

The proportion of articles depicting mental disorders together with either self- or other-directed aggressive behavior constitutes one-third of all articles. Homicide was most frequently mentioned in the context of psychotic disorders and schizophrenia, while affective disorders were most frequently associated with both completed suicides and

homicides. The vast majority of articles with violent content presented mentally ill people as perpetrators, and these articles were more often coded as stigmatizing.

In some of the studied categories we have found significant differences among countries, like the type of media distribution; whether headline of the article was positioned on the media cover; in the use of a sensationalistic style of writing; in the association of aggressive behavior with persons with mental illness; and in the distribution of the global impression of the headline. As shown, coverage of mental health/illness issues differs to large extent across countries, but is generally of poor quality.

Not unexpectedly, in many of the characteristics studied the Czech Republic and Slovakia are much closer to each other than to Croatia. This might be explained by a long history of shared journalism practice, similar political, social and economical factors, as well as absence of recent war.

The major strength of this research study is that the PICMIN instrument allows comparison among countries and different studies over time. According to the literature search, only one study has comparatively analysed articles from several countries (Huang & Priebe, 2003), but this research study focused on a broader context of mental health care and had used articles from only anglophonic countries. There is hope that the application of the PICMIN instrument in various socio-cultural settings will provide researchers with more detailed country specific insight about the representations of mental illnesses in the print media.

Based on such findings, practical recommendations for journalists can be tailored specifically for each country (workshops for journalists and mental health professionals, prizes for journalists, educational activities at the schools of journalism, destigmatization campaigns – especially the ones focused on raising awareness of mental health and literacy of wide public, etc.) The ultimate goal of this research effort is to improve media coverage of mental health/illness issues, minimize potential discriminatory practices, and increase help-seeking behavior.

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8. Attachments

8.1. PICMIN instrument with the coding scheme and instructions for coding



PICMIN

Picture of Mental Illness in Newspapers

Instrument to assess mental illness stigma in print media

ALGORITHM

All articles in the printed media

Keywords

Articles containing key words

Sampling

Articles with mental illness/health as a main topic

Coding

Phase 1

Keywords

Neutral terms

Labelling terms

Pejorative terms

psychiatr*, psychiatric facility, mental illness, hallucination, psychotherap*, psycholog*, dementia, schizophreni*, psychosis, depression, depressed, antidepressant, maniodepressive, mania, anxiety disorder, anorexia, bulimia, retardation, posttraumatic

schizophrenic, neurotic, psychotic, alcoholic, narcomaniac, anorectic, bulimic, psychopath (used as nouns not as adjectives)

madman, madhouse, lunatic, maniac, junkie, psychopath

Phase 2

Sampling

Selection of articles in which the subject of mental health/illness represents the main content.

Phase 3

Coding

Descriptive categories

Analytical categories

Name of the article, Name of the media, Type of the media, Date of issue, Page, Section, Length (words), Personal data included, Crime story, Disorder mentioned

Sensationalism, Type of aggressive act, Role in aggressive behavior, Information on source, Quotes/statements, Global impression - heading, Global impression - article

Descriptive categories		Page
Name of the article		p.5
Name of the media		p.5
Date of issue		p.5
Type of the media	Daily - broadsheet	p.5
	Daily - tabloid	
	Weekly (magazine)	
Key words identified	Neutral	p.5
	Labelling	
	Pejorative	
Section	News (politics, economic, sports, crime, etc.)	p.6
	Healthcare and science	
	Entertainment and celebrities	
	Not related to specific section	
Disorder mentioned ^a	Organic disorders F00 – F09.9	p.7
	Substance abuse disorders F10.0 – F19.9	
	Psychotic disorders F20.0 – F29.9	
	Affective disorders F30.0 – F39.9	
	Anxiety disorders F40.0 – F49.9	
	Eating disorders F50	
	Personality disorders F60.0 – F62.9	
	Sexual disorders F52, F64.0 – F66.9	
	Child and adolescent psychiatric dis. F80.0 – F98.9	
	Other	
Source of information ^a	Not related to specific mental disorder	p.7
	Mental health professional	
	Scientific survey/public inquiry	
	Famous person/celebrity	
	Mentally ill person	
	Family member of mentally ill	
	Friends/colleagues/neighbours of mentally ill	
	Police/judge/attorney	
	Politician/local authorities	

Is it a crime story?	Yes	p.7
	No	
Personal data revealed ^b	Yes	p.8
	No	
Page number		p.8
Length (words)		p.8

^a Multiple coding possible, ^b Article contains personal data of individual with mental illness which enables clear identification of such individual (e.g. full name, address, exact position in work or school, etc.). Do not code "Yes" if such individual is a famous person/celebrity/politician etc.

Analytical categories		Page
Sensationalism	Yes – high	p.9
	Yes – low	
	No	
Type of aggressive act ^a	Completed suicide (method)	p.10
	Attempted suicide (method)	
	Self-harm	
	Homicide	
	Physical aggression against other persons	
	Aggression against objects	
	Threatening behavior including verbal aggression	
	No aggressive act	
Role in aggressive behavior	Perpetrator	p.11
	Victim	
	Both	
	None	
Quotes/statements ^a	Stigmatizing and destigmatizing quotes/statements justifying the coding of global impression	p.11
Global impression – headline	Destigmatizing	p.11
	Neutral	
	Stigmatizing	
Global impression – article	Destigmatizing	p.12
	Neutral	
	Mixed	
	Stigmatizing	

^a Multiple coding possible

CODING CONVENTIONS - DESCRIPTIVE CATEGORIES

NAME OF THE ARTICLE

Put the main headline of the article

Example: Postnatal psychosis: 'I wanted to hurt my baby daughter'

NAME OF THE MEDIA

Put the name of the media

Example: Večernji list

DATE OF ISSUE

Date of the article published in the media

Example: June 25th 2009

TYPE OF THE MEDIA

Daily – broadsheet: newspapers daily printed, 600 mm by 380 mm (23½ by 15 inches), generally associated with more intellectual newspapers

Examples: Večernji list, Jutarnji list (Croatia), Mladá Fronta Dnes, Lidové noviny (Czech Republic), SME, Pravda (Slovak Republic), Chicago Tribune, the Washington Post (USA)

Daily – tabloid: newspapers, daily printed, half the size of broadsheets at 380 mm by 300 mm (15 by 11¾ inches), and often perceived as sensationalist in contrast to broadsheets.

Examples: 24 sata (Croatia), Blesk, Aha (Czech Republic), Korzár, Nový Čas (Slovak Republic) . The Sun, The National Enquirer, The Star Magazine, New York Post, the Chicago Sun-Times, The Globe (USA),

Weekly printed media: weekly printed newspapers and magazines

Examples: Nacional, Globus (Croatia), Rytmus života, Katka (Czech Republic), Plus 7 dní, Týždeň (Slovak Republic), People, Time (USA)

KEY WORDS IDENTIFIED

Identify all the key words in the article and the headline

Neutral (psychiatr*, psychiatric facility, mental illness, hallucination, psychotherap*, psychologist*, dementia, schizofreni*, psychosis, depression, depressed, antidepressant, manic depressive, mania, anxiety disorder, anorexia, bulimia, retardation, posttraumatic)

Labelling (schizophrenic, neurotic, psychotic, alcoholic, narcomaniac, anorectic, bulimic, psychopath (used as nouns not as adjectives)

Pejorative (madman, madhouse, lunatic, maniac, junkie, psychopath)

SECTION

News: article published in informative section such as politics, economic, sports, crime, etc.

"...THREE youngsters woke to a bloodbath as their father was stabbed to death by a schizophrenic stranger, a jury heard today.

Daniel Quelch, 34, a father of three, was found with horrific injuries at a property outside Maidenhead, Berkshire, in August last year.

Schizophrenic Benjamin Frankum, 25, was arrested at the scene, where he told police he had been sent by MI5 to kill Mr Quelch..."

Healthcare and science: article published in the health or science section

"...People who smoke "skunk" -- a potent form of cannabis -- are almost seven times more likely to develop psychotic illnesses such as schizophrenia than those who smoke "hash" or cannabis resin, according to research.

Scientists from King's College London's institute of psychiatry said their study was the first to look specifically at skunk, rather than normal cannabis, and suggested high levels of tetrahydrocannabinol, or THC, were to blame for the drug's effect on mental health.

"The risk of psychosis is much greater among people who are frequent cannabis users, especially among those using skunk, rather than among occasional users of traditional hash," said Marta di Forti, the psychiatrist who led the study...."

Entertainment and celebrities: article published in the entertainment, show business or celebrities section.

"...Susan Boyle has opened up about her battle with depression - blaming it on bullying endured at school. The singing star admitted she suffers from bouts of anger and mood swings that stem from a "hellish" childhood. Susan, set for a third week on top of the album charts, said: "I can be up and down like a yo-yo. I can be depressed. "I know I'm taking a big chance telling people this but you have to be honest. I used to be made a fool of at school.

"It was psychological bullying and that leaves a scar and it also cultivates a lot of anger.

"When people are a wee bit slow others pick at them. My life was made absolute hell."

Susan, 48, of Blackburn, East Lothian, has become a multi-millionaire since launching to global fame on Britain's Got Talent in April.

Her debut album I Dreamed A Dream has already sold three million copies. She told an Australian TV show: "When I went on Britain's Got Talent I said this is a chance to prove myself. ..."

No section: article is not associated to specific section of the media

DISORDER MENTIONED

Identify all the psychiatric disorders that are mentioned in the article and the headline

- Organic disorders F00 – F09.9
- Substance abuse disorders F10.0 – F19.9
- Psychotic disorders F20.0 – F29.9
- Affective disorders F30.0 – F39.9
- Anxiety disorders F40.0 – F49.9
- Eating disorders F50
- Personality disorders F60.0 – F62.9
- Sexual disorders F52, F64.0 – F66.9
- Child and adolescent psychiatric disorders F80.0 – F98.9
- Other
- Not related to specific mental disorder

When specific disorder mentioned in the article, tick disorder's group according to the ICD-10 classification. If several disorders mentioned tick several appropriate groups. If other disorders are mentioned (besides listed above), tick "other". If the article describes mental disorders or mentally ill persons in general, not stating the precise diagnosis, tick "not related to specific mental disorder".

SOURCE OF INFORMATION

Identify all the sources of information that are mentioned in the article and the headline

- Scientific survey/public inquiry
- Famous person/celebrity
- Mentally ill person
- Family member of mentally ill
- Police judge/attorney

IS IT A CRIME STORY?

Yes or No

Code **yes** if the article contains information about the crime, or associates mentally ill person with the crime.

*Examples of a **YES crime story**:*

"...A nurse was given a six month suspended jail sentence yesterday for ill-treating two elderly dementia patients. Penelope Webber, 51, was seen force-feeding a man of 86 and neglecting another at Whitchurch hospital, Cardiff. The judge at Cardiff crown court expressed "astonishment" that Webber, who suffers mental health problems, had been in charge...."

*"...A **PSYCHOTIC** son stabbed his dad to death after carers who described him as a "gentle giant" failed to deal with his illness properly, a damning report said yesterday. Gary Ward, 41, was cleared of murdering his father Jim, 62, after experts told a court he was insane."*

But the care team looking after Gary - now locked up indefinitely at the State Hospital in Lanarkshire - have been blasted by the Mental Welfare Commission for Scotland for being "naive" over the level of danger he posed to others..."

Code no if the article does not contain any information about the crime.

*Example of **NO crime story** article:*

"...Pharmaceutical company AstraZeneca PLC said Thursday European regulators have approved a new version of its bipolar disorder drug Seroquel.

The drug company said a once-daily formulation, Seroquel XR, has been approved by the European Mutual Recognition Procedure for new indications in bipolar disorder and moderate to severe manic episodes in bipolar disorder.

Bipolar disorder causes dramatic mood swings, from deep depression to manic highs.

AstraZeneca shares rose 1.7 percent to close at 2,837 pence (\$41.55) in London..."

PERSONAL DATA REVIEWED

Yes or No

Article contains personal data of individual with mental illness which enables clear identification of such individual (e.g. full name, address, exact position in work or school, etc.). Do not code "Yes" if such individual is a famous person/celebrity/politician etc.

Examples of the article coded YES:

"...A PSYCHOTIC son stabbed his dad to death after carers who described him as a "gentle giant" failed to deal with his illness properly, a damning report said yesterday.

Gary Ward, 41, was cleared of murdering his father Jim, 62, after experts told a court he was insane.

But the care team looking after Gary - now locked up indefinitely at the State Hospital in Lanarkshire - have been blasted by the Mental Welfare Commission for Scotland for being "naive" over the level of danger he posed to others..."

„...Daniel Quelch, 34, a father of three, was found with horrific injuries at a property outside Maidenhead, Berkshire, in August last year. Schizophrenic Benjamin Frankum, 25, was arrested at the scene, where he told police he had been sent by MI5 to kill Mr Quelch.

A judge today ruled him unfit to stand trial for murder but a jury was sworn in at Reading Crown Court to decide whether he was responsible for killing Mr Quelch..."

PAGE

Page number on which article was positioned, code 1 if headline or part of the article was published on front page and code the page where article was published

Examples:

1, 15 (article's headline positioned on front page, article published on page 15)

32,33, 34 (article positioned on pages 32-34 of the newspapers)

LENGTH

Number of the words in the article

CODING CONVENTIONS - ANALYTICAL CATEGORIES

SENSATIONALISM

Coding of this category is based on the content, style, language or focus of the article and might be scored "Yes – high", "Yes – low" or "No".

Criteria:

1. Gossip/rumor/scandal/speculation/non-evidence-based assumption
2. Overemphasizing exaggerating the point
3. Colloquial and pejorative terms
4. Psychiatric theme is misused to attract attention

Yes, high – at least 2 criteria need to be met

Yes, low – just one criterion is met

No – none criterion is met

Examples of articles coded "Yes, high":

The U.S. first lady is having hard times. She suffers from insomnia and loss of appetite. Her husband is to blame, as he's been neglecting her for six years already. The marriage of George Bush (61) is ruined. Laura Bush (60) has recently filed a claim for legal separation. Yet only now she revealed to her friends, what an enormous strain she's been experiencing since January 2001, when her husband became the U.S. president. The U.S. first lady suffers from depressions and bursts into tears occasionally. George Bush (61) pays all his attention to his office and has no time for his wife. He is blind to any of her pleads and efforts to come closer.

Allegra Beck (20), the daughter of the famous Italian fashion designer, Donatella Versace, fell down to the very bottom. As her mother designs clothes for skinny models, Allegra wanted to equal them. This has almost become fatal for her. While trying to fit in the clothes sized zero, she fell ill with anorexia and is now balancing on the edge. Her weight is 35 kg, which has forced the doctors to immediate intervention. „Her arms resembled candlestick and her skin was of unnatural color“, says the spokesman of the Versace company. Allegra was transferred to psychiatric clinic and is nurtured artificially.

Disgusting scene was observed last summer by three neighbors. Through a fence, they have seen a disabled person crawling like a dog under the trees and collecting rotten apples into a sack held by his sister-in-law. „Keep taking those apples, you bastard, eat them! Die already, you damn pig!“ Such invectives were shouted by Ms. Alena according to the shocked neighbors on her brother-in-law. „I told her to stop immediately and let that man go home,“ said Michaela Adams. For 14 days, during which the insane man had lived in the house of his brother and his spouse, who had John in custody, the neighbors always saw him being mistreated. „Skinny like a skeleton, he only ate green apples every day,“ the neighbor added.

Examples of articles coded "Yes, low":

Troubled Britney Spears wrote a suicide note saying: "Perhaps it would be better if I was dead," The Sun can reveal. The heart-rending letter laid bare the 26-year-old singer's dark feelings of loneliness - and despair at being unable to live up to family and fans' expectations. A friend found it just before Britney's meltdown earlier this month. Doctors and friends of the tormented star believe she needs urgent help - because she is suffering fits of terror and is mentally ill. The chart-topping singer has had mental health problems "for years," sources close to her family revealed.

TYPE OF AGGRESSIVE ACT

Describe the type of aggressive act that was committed by an individual with mental illness.

Completed suicide - Individual with mental illness commits suicide.

If yes, what was the method used: 1) drug/chemical/gas poisoning

2) hanging

3) firearms

4) jumping from heights/in the water/under the train

5) other

6) not mentioned

Attempted suicide - Individual with mental illness attempted to commit suicide, but wasn't successful.

If yes, what was the method used: 1) drug/chemical/gas poisoning

2) hanging

3) firearms

4) jumping from heights/in the water/under the train

5) other

6) not mentioned

Self-harm - Individual with mental illness is intentionally harming himself.

Homicide - Individual with mental illness commits homicide.

Physical aggression against other persons - Individual with mental illness is physically attacking others (kicking, beating, torturing, etc.).

Aggression against objects - Individual with mental illness is destroying objects or vandalizes the surrounding (smashing windows, setting fire, etc.).

Threatening behavior including verbal aggression – Individual with mental illness yells and insults other people, curses and threats to hurt or kill them.

No aggressive act - article doesn't contain any information about individual with mental illness and any type of aggressive acts mentioned above.

ROLE IN AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR

Describe the role of mentally ill person in the aggressive behavior.

Perpetrator - Individual with mental illness is portrayed as an offender/perpetrator.

Victim - Individual with mental illness is depicted as a victim of aggressive behavior.

Both – Individual with mental illness is portrayed as a victim and at the same time as an offender.

None

Article doesn't contain any information about individual with mental illness connected to aggressive behavior.

QUOTES/STATEMENTS

Using inductive analysis researchers will include positive/negative quotes/statements in this category from the articles that reflect e.g. journalist's/public's/mentally ill's attitudes (these will be exact quotes from the article (obligatory), and a researcher can add statements which will be comments/impressions about the article as well (optional). Quotes/statements should serve as a basis for the coding of global impression of the article and should justify it.

GLOBAL IMPRESSION - HEADLINE

Destigmatizing

1. individuals with mental illness are functioning very well in the society (equal or similar to people without mental illness)
2. examples of mental health promotion actions (topics related to public health, prevention and treatment of mental illness, political and social activities)
3. headings about stories of individuals who have overcome mental illness (including celebrities confessing they have mental illness)
4. educational, informative and evidence-based information in the heading with clear recommendations for treatment or prevention of mental illness

Yes – at least 1 criterion is met

None – none is met

Prague launches helpline for mentally ill, Christine is learning how to live a healthy life with schizophrenia, Streetworkers are helping the drug addicted

Neutral

1. heading states information about mental illness, based on scientific studies, does not include recommendation for prevention and/or treatment of mental illness
2. state the facts as they happened (objectively) and do not give information which might sway the reader's perspective on mental illness
3. it is not clear whether subject of heading is connected to mental illness topic

Yes – at least 1 criterion is met

No – article is either stigmatizing or destigmatizing

Breaking the habit is just the beginning, Love on command, Fatigue? We blame it on the spring, Smith about to visit

Stigmatizing

1. individuals with mental illness are being associated with violence, aggression and crime
2. myths and prejudice on mental illness (non-professional and not evidence based reporting)
3. individuals with mental illness are socially dysfunctional (depending on social helps, being unemployed, detained in psychiatric facilities, etc.)
4. misuse/overuse of psychiatric diagnoses and services

Yes – at least 1 criterion is met

No – none is met

Insane man pacified by the police, Mother gone mad!, Alcoholic burned an ill man to death, Junkies making the castle park a horror park

GLOBAL IMPRESSION - ARTICLE

Destigmatizing

1. individuals with mental illness are functioning very well in the society (equal or similar to people without mental illness)
2. examples of mental health promotion actions (topics related to public health, prevention and treatment of mental illness, political and social activities)
3. stories about individuals who have overcome mental illness (including celebrities confessing they have mental illness)
4. educational, informative and evidence-based articles with clear recommendations for treatment or prevention of mental illness

Yes – at least 1 criterion is met

None – none is met

... a new project was started in September by the detached working place of the secondary agricultural vocational school at Dresden. „We have started providing secondary education and nonstop personal assistance to children and youngsters with light and medium grade of mental handicap,“ said a pedagogue of the school, Michal Fleischman. What kind of handicapped clients are these? These are clients aged from 16 to 26 with light and medium grade of mental handicap who have completed primary education at specialized and practical primary schools. Their mental handicap can be combined with light physical handicap which does not require barrier-free access; they must be individually mobile. Some of them have specific learning disorders, suffer from epilepsy, various forms of allergy or are suffering from the Down syndrome. ...

... Tübingen – It looks weird at the first sight. In the community hall of the Psychiatric institute Tübingen, a young man submits his CV to the therapist and after being asked to sit down, he sits down on the offered chair rather convulsively. Then he starts talking about himself and what job he likes the most. A hundred of clients of the institute in the former Schwarzenberg's castle are people addicted to drugs, alcohol or gambling. Some of them are now voluntarily testing the project of the Centre of social services at Linz, subsidized by the European Union. The project title is Open door and its specialized program is called One Step Further. The clients are preparing for life behind the institute walls. ...

Neutral

1. article states information about mental illness, based on scientific studies, does not include recommendation for prevention and/or treatment of mental illness
2. state the facts as they happened (objectively) and do not give information which might sway the reader's perspective on mental illness

Yes – both criteria need to be met

No – article is either stigmatizing, mixed or destigmatizing

Studying of animals with schizophrenia helps revealing the causes of this illness. „In our model of schizophrenia, we examine specially the so-called acoustic shock reactions, which is a very simple defensive reflexive reaction,” says the associate professor David Platt from the Psychiatric Clinic in Prague. The disturbed animal with a model psychosis is acting similarly to a patient suffering from psychosis or schizophrenia. It also has altered shock reaction to sound stimulus. ...

British scientists claim that the children who are born small are suffering more from depressions as adults.

Mixed

The article contains sentences or paragraphs with stigmatizing as well as destigmatizing statements.

Yes – at least 1 criterion for “destigmatizing” and at least 1 criterion for “stigmatizing” articles is met

No – article is either stigmatizing or destigmatizing

“...Yes, a patient named David Bowie has been hospitalized in our facility,” an employee at the reception desk confirmed to the daily newspaper Sun. Still, physicians continue to conceal his identity and refuse to furnish an information at all. “I have heard that he is here, but have not seen him yet”... ...The reason for his current therapy is unknown so far. However, it should be acknowledged that at least Bowie made up his mind to undergo treatment under professional supervision...

Stigmatizing

1. individuals with mental illness are being associated with violence, aggression and crime
2. myths and prejudice on mental illness (non-professional and not evidence based reporting)

3. individuals with mental illness are socially dysfunctional (depending on social helps, being unemployed, detained in psychiatric facilities, etc.)
4. misuse/overuse of psychiatric diagnoses and services

Yes – at least 1 criterion is met

No – none is met

...Sandra has probably inherited her horror childhood from her mother. „My mother’s fate was terrifying. She grew up in a family with a despotic father who was beating her,” a young actress describes the life of her mother. Sandra herself then grew up with a father who was a notorious alcoholic. „I don’t remember him being sober. My brothers do remember him as an exceptional artist, photographer with enormous intelligence. I can only remember him as a poor drunkard who had to drink rum from the morning and was completely out of reality. He always claimed he was going to the bank because he had an account in Switzerland, but of course, he only made it to the nearest pub,” said Turner lately. The alcohol finally became fatal for her father. „He got drunk. He fell down and injured his head. They phoned us from the hospital that he was laying there. But we were already used to that, they used to phone us once in two months. That was nothing exceptional. ...

In panic, they ran to the other side of the street. People in the Market street have experienced a nasty theater yesterday. A furious man (38) was raging in the street, behaving out of control. Not only ambulance came to the place, but also police patrol who had to use force to bring the man down on the floor and pacify him. „We have transferred the patient to the psychiatric department of the hospital Sisters of Mercy. He suffered from schizophrenia,” said Gloria Tucker from the ambulance. ...

8.2. Publications and abstracts related to the dissertation thesis

Publications (Impact factor)

Nawková, L., Nawka, A., Adámková, T., Rukavina, T.V., Holcnerová, P., Kuzman, M.R., Jovanovic, N., Brborovic, O., Bednářová, B., Žuchová, S., Miovský, M., Raboch, J. (2012). The picture of mental health/illness in the printed media in three central European countries. *J of Health Commun*, **17**, 22-40. **(IF=1.500)**

Rukavina, T.V., Nawka, A., Brborović, O., Jovanović, N., Kuzman, M.R., Nawková, L., Bednářová, B., Žuchová, S., Hrodková, M., Lattová, Z. (in press). Development of the PICMIN (Picture of mental illness in newspapers): Instrument to assess mental illness stigma in print media. *Soc Psychiatry Psychiatr Epidemiol*. **(IF=2.050)**

Nawka, A., Rukavina, T.V., Nawková, L., Brborović, O., Jovanović, N., Raboch, J. (in press). Psychiatric disorders and aggression in the printed media: Is there a link? A central European perspective. *BMC Psychiat*, **12**, 19. **(IF=2.890)**

Holcnerová, P., Adámková, T., Nawková, L., Nawka, A., Miovský, M. (2010). Obraz duševních poruch v tištěných médiích. [The picture of mental illness in the print media]. *Psychiatrie*, **14**, 85-90.

Nawková, L., Adámková, T., Holcnerová, P., Nawka, A., Bednářová, B., Žuchová, S., Rukavina, T.V., Miovský, M., Raboch, J. (2010). Vyobrazení osob s duševním onemocněním v českých, chorvatských a slovenských tištěných médiích. [Depiction of people with mental illness in the Czech, Croatian and Slovak print media]. *Čes a slov Psychiat*, **106**, 577-583.

Nawková, L. (2009). Slovo úvodem: Média a psychiatrie. [Editorial: Media and psychiatry]. *Psychiat pro praxi*, **10**, 2.

Nawková L. (2010). Slovo úvodem: Obraz psychiatrie v médiích. [Editorial: The picture of psychiatry in the media]. *Psychiat pro praxi*, **11**, 2.

Abstracts

Nawková, L., Adámková, T., Vondráčková, P., Nawka, A., Miovský, M., Raboch, J. (2009). The picture of mental disorders in Czech printed media. 17th European Congress of Psychiatry, Lisbon, Portugal, Abstract on CD-Rom, P02-259.

Nawka, A., Adámková, T., Rukavina, T.V., Nawková, L., Vondráčková, P., Klus, M., Kuzman, R.M., Jovanovic, N., Bednářová, B., Žuchová, S., Miovský, M. (2009). The picture of mental illness in the Czech, Slovak and Croatian printed media. World Congress of World Federation for Mental Health, Athens, Greece, Abstract book, Psychiatriki, 20, 63-64.

Nawka, A., Rukavina, T.V., Nawková, L., Adámková, T., Holcnerová, P., Kuzman, R.M., Jovanovic, N., Brborovic, O., Bednářová, B., Žuchová, S., Miovský, M., Raboch, J. (2010). Predictors of stigmatizing and destigmatizing articles on mental illness in the printed media: A central European perspective. 18th European Congress of Psychiatry, Munich, Germany, Abstracts on CD-Rom, PW221.

Nawka, A., Rukavina, T.V., Jovanovic, N., Nawková, L. (2010). The prevalence of suicides and homicides in newspapers articles dealing with persons with mental illness: A central European perspective. 13th European Symposium on Suicide and Suicidal Behaviour, Rome, Italy, Abstracts on CD-Rom, 132.

Nawka, A., Rukavina, T.V., Nawková, L., Brborovic, O., Lattová, Z. (2011). How distorted is the picture of mentally ill people in print media and who is to blame? 15th World Congress of Psychiatry, Buenos Aires, Argentina, Abstract book, RS91.1.

Rukavina, T.V., Brborovic, O., Nawka, A., Lattová, Z., Nawková, L. (2011). Stigma in central European print media: analysis of the stigmatizing potential of the keywords. 15th World Congress of Psychiatry, Buenos Aires, Argentina, Abstract book, RS91.2.

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The Picture of Mental Health/Illness in the Printed Media in Three Central European Countries

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Even in the era of the Internet, printed media are still among the most frequently identified sources of mental health information. Many studies have shown that this information is frequently negative and contributes to stigmatization of people with mental illness. This international comparative study describes the content of media messages about mental health/illness in terms of stigma in three Central European countries. The study sample comprised all articles pertaining to the topic of mental health/illness (N = 450) identified during five week-long periods in 2007 chosen from the six most widely read newspapers and magazines in each country. The authors used content analysis methods to achieve quantitative and qualitative objectives. More than half of all articles contained negative statements reflecting stigma toward persons with mental illness. Substance abuse disorders are the most frequent mental conditions covered in all three countries (22%), and psychotic disorders are the most stigmatized. Countries significantly differ in length of articles, in the association of aggressive behavior with persons with mental illness, and in the use of a sensationalized style of writing. Coverage of mental health/illness issues differs to some extent across countries but is generally of poor quality. On the basis of the authors' findings, practical recommendations for journalists can be tailored specifically for each country.

Broadcast and printed media are considered to be the public's primary source of information regarding mental health/illness (e.g., Anderson, 2003; Hannigan, 1999; Philo et al., 1994). Numerous studies have documented an association between negative media portrayals of people with mental illness and the public's negative attitudes (e.g., Angermeyer & Matschinger, 1996; Philo, 1996; Wahl, 1992; Wahl & Lefkowitz, 1989) and have concluded that stigmatizing presentations have a direct negative effect on individuals living with mental illness (Grinfeld, 1998) and on social policies (Cutcliffe & Hannigan, 2001; Olstead, 2002; Rose, 1998).

Numerous researchers have investigated the representations of mental illnesses in the printed media. Many of them have suggested that depictions of mental illnesses are relatively common in printed media and that these provide a distorted depiction of people with mental illnesses, highlighting their bizarre features (e.g., Coverdale, Nairn, & Claasen, 2002; Day & Page, 1986; Hazelton, 1997). Several studies have also repeatedly confirmed that many depictions convey a greatly exaggerated connection between mental illness and aggressive behavior (e.g., Allen & Nairn, 1997; Slopen, Watson, Gracia, & Corrigan, 2007). Those articles were also more often published on the first page of daily newspapers and journals, increasing their potential to influence readers (e.g., Boke, Aker, Aker, Sarisoy, & Sahin, 2007; Corrigan et al., 2005; Ward, 1997).

Few relevant investigations have been conducted in Central and Eastern Europe. A Serbian study of the representations of mental illness in the press found that depictions of mental illness were considerably negative, presenting people with mental illness as dangerous and as victims of their health conditions (Bilic & Georgaca, 2007). In the Czech Republic, these issues were investigated mainly in relation to the image of drug abuse and drug users in printed media (Grohmannova, 2006; Miovská, Brachova, & Miovsky, 2008; Sivek, Miovská, & Miovsky, 2004).

Situation in the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic

The Czech Republic, with a population of 10.2 million, and the Slovak Republic, with a population of 5.4 million, once was a single country (Eurostat, 2010). The history of psychiatry and mental health care issues is therefore similar, as is the

sociocultural background, in these two countries. During the communist era of 1948–1989, the one-party system with a centralized economy and substantial restrictions of democratic rights influenced all aspects of society (Dragomirecka, Brazinova, Palova, Baudis, & Seleпова, 2008; Vevera, 2004). The health care system was nationalized and patients did not have free choice of a specialist or treatment facility. No civic movements or nongovernmental organizations existed to provide advocacy, promotion, or prevention. The communist regime monopolized the media and largely prevented any alternative voices from reaching the public. The main political, social, and administrative changes after the Velvet Revolution in November 1989 provided the basis for creation of new mental health policies, which enabled attempts to address stigma (Dragomirecka et al.; Vevera, Hubbard, Vesely, & Papezova, 2005).

In 2004, the Czech Republic joined the World Psychiatric Association program titled “Open the Doors” with the initiative called *zmena* (“change”). Its survey focused on schizophrenia revealed that there is little knowledge about the disease among the general public and that stereotypes about the dangerousness and unpredictability of patients are widespread (DEMA, 2004). Because mental health literacy was found to be very low in Czech Republic, one of the main priorities of the other initiative, Stop Stigma, is to increase the level of information on mental illness mainly by encouraging media to provide more complete and accurate information (Stop Stigma, 2009).

The League for Mental Health is a leading nongovernmental organization that is active in mental health promotion and protection in the Slovak Republic (Liga za Dusevne Zdravie, 2008). Its programs include media campaigns on alcohol abuse and schizophrenia. Another Slovak national organization, *Otvorme Dvere Otvorme Srdcia* (“Open the Door, Open Your Hearts”), implements the antistigma program of the World Psychiatric Association (Sartorius, 2005). In cooperation with the media, this program included interviews with patients and their relatives appearing in newspapers and television (Nawka, 2005).

Situation in Croatia

Croatia, with a population of 4.4 million people (Eurostat, 2010), has a similar socio-cultural and historical background of psychiatry and mental health care to the Czech and Slovak Republics. Croatia was part of Yugoslavia, with the communist regime in place until 1991. After the Croatian Parliament declared the independence and sovereignty of the country, by the Yugoslav Army started an open military conflict that lasted until the liberating military events of 1995 marked the end of the war. Since 1991, thorough transitional changes took place and brought vast socio-economic, political, and cultural changes. These changes also affected overall health issues and mental health issues. Of the adult population, 10% are war veterans who suffer from psychiatric problems, especially posttraumatic stress disorder. Prevalence of posttraumatic stress disorder ranges from 18% to 40% (Komar & Vukusic, 1999) and the suicide rate among war veterans is more than twice as high as for the general population (Suicidi.info, 2009). Throughout the 1991–2004 period 1,053 war veterans committed suicide (Croatian Government, 2006).

Recent findings report a high level of stigma toward mental illness as reported by the general population, medical staff, and caregivers of patients with mental illness (Arbanas, 2008; Filipic et al., 2003), mostly associated with fear and

insufficient knowledge about psychiatric patients and mental disorders. A recent study of posttraumatic stress disorder and perception of stigma showed that stigma perception depends on social support and intensity of symptoms (Aukst-Margetic, Toic, Furjan Boban, & Margetic, 2009).

Even though the aforementioned figures show a dramatic situation, the Croatian government has still not accepted international standards of antistigma programs from the World Health Organization or from the World Psychiatric Association. Therefore, antistigma programs are mostly provided by nongovernmental organizations or psychiatric associations. Mental health professionals are making efforts to provide antistigma programs, and some positive results have been already achieved through the establishment of the Center for Mental Health at the Health Centre Zagreb and Croatian Center for Rehabilitation in Community, Vrapce Psychiatric Hospital, as a part of the World Health Organization's and Stability Pact's pilot project (World Health Organization, 2005).

Objectives

Our study aimed to compare the contents and tone of articles on mental health/illness in Czech, Croatian, and Slovak print media. An international comparison should provide comprehensive information on representations of mental illnesses in printed media in each country, which can be a basis for targeted antistigma programs with respect to socio-cultural contexts. The main goals of our study were to determine how many articles on mental health/illness issues were published during the defined period and how was the tone of the articles regarding stigmatization of people with mental illness. Who is the source of information, what types of mental disorders are described in the articles, and how violence connected with people who are mentally ill is presented were secondary goals.

Methods

Study Sample

Our study sample comprised articles pertaining to the topic of mental illness chosen from the six most widely read daily newspapers in print and six most widely-read weekly periodicals in print in each country. Articles related to mental health/illness were retrieved by media retrieval agencies. They were taken from four 1-week periods randomly selected from every three months throughout 2007 plus one week randomly selected from the year 2007. All parts of the newspapers were searched for the key words covering the topic of mental illness, including news, interviews, columns, and editorials.

To achieve the objectives of this research, we employed content analysis, a quantitative and qualitative research method used for systematic and verifiable description of media content based on scientifically-based questioning (McQuail, 1999; Schulz, Hagen, Scherer, & Reifova, 1998). It is highly structured and intended for processing large amounts of data, thus enabling adequate statistical analysis of the results.

Keywords

We divided keywords into two groups: neutral terms (e.g., *psychiatry*, *depression*, *anorexia*) and labeling terms (mental illnesses expressions are used as labels, e.g., *schizophrenic*, *alcoholic*, *neurotic*).

Sampling

Out of all articles obtained after setting the keywords, we analyzed only those in which the subject of mental health/illness represented the main content. The initial numbers of articles identified were 102 in Croatia, 1424 in the Czech Republic, and 900 in Slovakia. The selection of articles with mental health/illness as main content enabled us to perform a more comprehensive analysis of the way in which these issues are reported in all three countries.

Coding Manual

The coding manual was developed specifically for this study on the basis of the theoretical framework of content analysis (Kerlinger, 1972; Schulz et al., 1998). To further improve codes for this study we conducted a focus group with four mental health professionals and two journalists. Various issues regarding journalistic style and the way of reporting on mental illnesses were discussed.

The coding manual comprises two parts: identifying categories and analytical categories. Identifying categories were used for easy identification of separate items and for finding the links with analytical categories; the latter served as the basis for answering the key research questions. Identifying categories included name of the article, date of issue, name of the media, type of the media, page, and number of words.

The articles were also coded for the types of disorders named and described and for the sources of information about mental illness, such as inclusion of perspectives from mental health experts, persons with mental illness, or their families. Disorders that were included generally corresponded to classifications from the International Classification of Diseases (World Health Organization, 1993).

All categories were determined a priori by the research team during several workshops and were used as a basis for consensual coding. In determining the analytical categories we tried to cover main issues such as sensationalism, aggression, global impression of the heading, and global impression of the article, all of which have proven crucial in previous studies. In the category of “sensationalism” we focused both on content and form of the article. The first is based on the focus of the article, includes topics such as celebrity, speculations or scandal. The form reflects the language style (appellative expressions, superlatives or colloquial terms). Likewise, aggression was assessed also by two separate categories. In the category “aggressive behavior,” we focused on whether the person with mental illness was depicted as a perpetrator or a victim of violent acts. In the second category we identified the particular type of aggressive act. In assessing the global impression of the article the items were evaluated according to the presence of positive/negative statements and coded as either negative, positive, mixed, or neutral. Each analytical category included a paragraph-long definition to facilitate coding.

To reflect the overall conclusion or main emphasis of the article, single statements pertaining to the topic of mental health/illness were analyzed using constant comparison of content method (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Coding Process

Each article was coded by three separate in-country coders. Reliability for the analytical categories among raters in all three countries was assured by their uniform

training and regular international meetings in which they discussed possible differences in interpretation. During the pilot study, 30 exemplary articles were translated into all languages and all raters coded them to compare connotations among the languages. Interrater reliability among coders was determined for analytical categories of the articles by average pairwise percent agreement, which, for the categories “aggressive act” and “aggressive behavior” was more than 88% in all three countries; lower average pairwise percent agreement scores were determined for categories “sensationalism” and “global impression.” Because these results showed less satisfactory average pairwise percent agreement scores, the final coding in these categories was always reached by consensus of all three raters in each country.

Statistical Analysis

We used descriptive statistics to present all data obtained from the total sample. The differences of frequencies among countries were determined using χ^2 tests or with nonparametric tests, as appropriate after testing for distribution. *P* values less than .05 were considered statistically significant. All statistical analyses were carried out with the SPSS 13.0 statistical software package.

To describe the effect of particular variables on the global impression, we introduced a variable negative/positive ratio. This variable uses only two clusters (articles coded as positive and negative). We did include in our analysis articles coded as neutral and mixed. Higher negative/positive ratios shows a stronger effect on negative global impression.

Results

General Information

A total of 450 articles related to mental health issues were identified for the 5 weeks sampled for the study (Croatia: 75, Czech Republic: 203, Slovak Republic: 172). Some of the main characteristics (distribution of the articles among different type of print media, articles positioned with headline on cover, and disorders mentioned) are presented in Tables 1 and 2. The mean number of words per article across all three countries was 237. A larger word count was associated with more positive global impression. The mean number of words in articles with positive global impression was 278, whereas the mean number of words in articles with negative global impression was 175 (Kruskal Wallis Test, $p < .001$). The most frequently described psychiatric disorders among the articles analyzed were substance abuse disorders. In a large proportion of the articles, no specific psychiatric disorder was mentioned (Croatia: 24%, Slovakia: 30.2%, Czech Republic: 36.5%). The opinion of a mental health professional was sought in one-third of the articles and people with mental illness were quoted in about 10% of all articles. Mental health professionals were listed as a source of information in 61.6% of the positive articles, compared to only 16.3% of the negative articles.

Aggressive Behavior and Aggressive Acts

Aggressive behavior was associated with persons with mental illness in 49.3% of articles in Croatia, 24.6% of articles in Czech Republic, and 40.1% of articles in Slovakia

Table 1. Main characteristics of the studied articles

Feature	Total sample (<i>N</i> = 450) <i>n</i> (%)	Croatia (<i>n</i> = 75) <i>n</i> (%)	Czech Republic (<i>n</i> = 203) <i>n</i> (%)	Slovak Republic (<i>n</i> = 172) <i>n</i> (%)	Pearson χ^2 test
Media type	153 (34)	0 (0)	75 (37)	78 (45)	$\chi^2(4) = 62.965$, $p < .001$
Tabloids	256 (57)	70 (93)	115 (57)	71 (41)	
Broadsheets	41 (9)	5 (7)	13 (6)	23 (14)	
Magazines	34 (8)	4 (5)	26 (13)	4 (2)	$\chi^2(2) = 15.284$, $p = .001$
Headline on the cover	416 (92)	71 (95)	177 (87)	168 (98)	$\chi^2(10) = 51.718$, $p < .001$
No	16 (4)	0 (0)	6 (3)	10 (6)	
Disorder mentioned (chosen groups)	118 (26)	32 (43)	53 (26)	33 (19)	
F00.0–F09.9	60 (13)	12 (16)	19 (9)	29 (17)	
F10.0–F19.9	84 (19)	15 (20)	25 (12)	44 (26)	
F20.0–F29.9	38 (8)	14 (19)	8 (4)	16 (9)	
F30.0–F39.9	37 (8)	5 (7)	19 (9)	13 (8)	
F40.0–F49.9	160 (36)	36 (48)	57 (28)	67 (39)	$\chi^2(2) = 10.888$, $p = .004$
F50.0–F50.9	290 (64)	39 (52)	146 (72)	105 (61)	$\chi^2(2) = 76.983$, $p < .001$
Sensational content	139 (31)	55 (73)	50 (25)	34 (20)	$\chi^2(6) = 5.303$, $p = .258$
Yes	294 (69)	20 (27)	153 (75)	138 (80)	
No	115 (26)	31 (41)	32 (16)	52 (30)	
Aggressive behavior	26 (6)	5 (7)	11 (5)	10 (6)	
Perpetrator	15 (3)	1 (1)	7 (4)	7 (4)	
Victim	294 (65)	38 (51)	153 (75)	103 (60)	$\chi^2(6) = 30.688$, $p = .006$
Both	31 (7)	3 (4)	15 (7)	13 (8)	
None	120 (27)	35 (47)	36 (18)	49 (28)	
Aggressive act	25 (5)	1 (1)	12 (6)	12 (7)	
Autoaggressive	274 (61)	36 (48)	140 (69)	98 (57)	
Heteroaggressive	237	200	239	250	Kruskal Wallis Test: $\chi^2(1) = 8.325$, $p = .004$
Length of article					
Mean number of words					

Note. F00.0–F09.9 refer to organic mental disorders (dementia); F10.0–F19.9 refer to mental and behavioral disorders as a result of psychoactive substance use; F20.0–F29.9 refer to schizophrenia, schizotypal, and delusional disorders; F30.0–F39.9 refer to mood (affective) disorders; F40.0–F49.9 refer to neurotic, stress-related, and somatoform disorders; and F50.0–F50.9 refer to eating disorders.

Table 2. Effect of various variables on the global impression of the article or headline

Feature	Global impression of the article (%)				Negative/ positive ratio
	Positive (<i>n</i> = 99)	Neutral (<i>n</i> = 73)	Mixed (<i>n</i> = 106)	Negative (<i>n</i> = 172)	
Country*					
Croatia (<i>n</i> = 75)	8	16	36	40	5.0
Czech Republic (<i>n</i> = 203)	23	18	22	37	1.6
Slovak Republic (<i>n</i> = 172)	27	15	20	38	1.4
Broadsheets (<i>n</i> = 256)	27	19	25	29	1.0
Tabloids (<i>n</i> = 153)	8	12	22	58	6.8
Magazines (<i>n</i> = 41)	39	15	22	24	0.6
Front page (<i>n</i> = 34)	9	29	29	33	3.7
Later sections (<i>n</i> = 416)	23	15	23	39	1.7
Disorder mentioned (chosen)					
F00.0–F09.9 (<i>n</i> = 16)	31	13	6	50	1.6
F10.0–F19.9 (<i>n</i> = 118)	20	13	32	35	1.7
F20.0–F29.9 (<i>n</i> = 60)	8	8	22	62	7.4
F30.0–F39.9 (<i>n</i> = 84)	29	20	27	24	0.8
F40.0–F49.9 (<i>n</i> = 38)	37	16	31	16	0.4
F50.0–F50.9 (<i>n</i> = 37)	38	16	35	11	0.3
Source of information (chosen)					
Person with MI/their families (<i>n</i> = 95)	23	12	23	42	1.8
Mental health professional (<i>n</i> = 161)	38	17	28	17	0.5
Scientific survey (<i>n</i> = 33)	36	43	18	3	0.1

(Continued)

Table 2. Continued

Feature	Global impression of the article (%)				Negative/ positive ratio
	Positive (<i>n</i> = 99)	Neutral (<i>n</i> = 73)	Mixed (<i>n</i> = 106)	Negative (<i>n</i> = 172)	
Keywords (chosen)					
psychosis (<i>n</i> = 25)	12	12	20	56	4.6
schizophrenia (<i>n</i> = 33)	21	3	12	64	3.0
psychiatric facility (<i>n</i> = 166)	24	5	15	56	2.3
depression/depressed (<i>n</i> = 75)	44	24	3	29	0.7
anorexia (<i>n</i> = 34)	50	6	32	12	0.2
psychotherapy (<i>n</i> = 27)	63	7	26	4	0.1

Country**	Global impression of the headline (%)		
	Positive (<i>n</i> = 49)	Neutral (<i>n</i> = 251)	Negative (<i>n</i> = 150)
Croatia (<i>n</i> = 75)	3	65	32
Czech Republic (<i>n</i> = 203)	13	56	31
Slovak Republic (<i>n</i> = 172)	12	52	36

The percentages add up to 100 across the rows. F00.0–F09.9 refer to organic mental disorders (dementia); F10.0–F19.9 refer to mental and behavioral disorders as a result of psychoactive substance use; F20.0–F29.9 refer to schizophrenia, schizotypal, and delusional disorders; F30.0–F39.9 refer to mood (affective) disorders; F40.0–F49.9 refer to neurotic, stress-related, and somatoform disorders; and F50.0–F50.9 refer to eating disorders.

*Global impression of the article: $\chi^2(6) = 15.236, p = .018$.

**Global impression of the headline: $\chi^2(4) = 18.483, p = .001$.

(see Table 1). In the “aggressive act” category, people with mental illness were predominantly presented as dangerous, involved in crime-related stories such as committing homicide (Croatia: 48.7%, Slovakia: 30.2%, Czech Republic: 27.0%), or physical assault (Croatia: 30.8%, Slovakia: 25.7%, Czech Republic: 20.7%). These items included messages such as “a 59-year old woman attacked her sleeping co-patient in the ward block of a psychiatric department. Without the intervention of a passerby witness, she would have beaten her victim to death with a chair.”

Global Impression and Sensationalism

On the basis of the coding manual’s main category of “global impression,” we coded articles as positive, neutral, mixed, or negative, according to the presence of positive and/or negative statements about mental illness/health. Negative articles were almost equally distributed among all three countries: 37.4% of articles in the Czech Republic, 38.4% of articles in the Slovak Republic, and 40.0% articles in Croatia. Examples included items such as “a furious man was raging in the street, behaving out of control. Police patrol transferred him to the psychiatric department; he suffered from schizophrenia.” Aggressive behavior of a mentally ill person (perpetrator, victim, or both) was described in 60.5% of the negative articles versus only 5% of the positive ones. As for the specific aggressive acts, homicide was found in 24.4% of the negative articles and physical assault in 19.7%. None of the positive articles was associated with aggressive acts committed by mentally ill persons. The largest proportion of articles with sensationalized content as well as form was found in Croatia (Table 1). The majority of these included the use of terms such as *never-ending affliction*, *sad ending*, or *demons in the head*. In all three countries, a neutral tone in headlines was predominant. Positive tone represented the smallest group with 11% in all countries, including titles such as “Prague Launches Helpline.” A negative tone was found in approximately one third of the headlines (Table 2); examples included “Mother gone mad!” and “Insane man pacified by the police.” Of articles having a headline that was positive in tone, 94% were positive too. Similarly, 80% of those articles with a negative headline were negative as well.

Predictors of Negative and Positive Impression of the Article

The negative/positive ratio represents a simple “predictor” of negativity of articles within a particular category. Categories with the highest negative/positive ratio are: tabloids, stigmatizing headline, the headline of the article on the cover, and psychotic disorders mentioned in the article (Table 2). Positive global impression of the article is more frequently found in the articles from magazines, in the articles about anxiety and eating disorders, and when a mental health professional or scientific survey were used as sources of information. Among all three countries, articles from Croatia have the highest negative/positive ratio of 5 versus 1.6 in Czech Republic or 1.4 in Slovakia.

Main Message of the Article

The positive/negative statements from the articles were grouped accordingly to their common features in order to form meaningful subgroups and groups, reflecting overall conclusion or main emphasis of the article. Four groups were identified:

Table 3. Statements from the articles grouped in the main message subgroups and groups

Group	Subgroup	Statements from the articles (examples)
Mental illness as a medical condition	Prevention	Everyone can have MI; number of people with MI problems is increasing; prevention of MI is important; lifestyle can contribute to development of MI.
	Treatment	Persons with MI can recover with treatment; persons with MI should get treatment; treatment is hard and takes a long time.
	Consequences	MI makes life difficult; persons with MI are lonely; accepting the diagnosis is hard; psychiatric diagnosis can be misused by patient.
	Specific conditions	Substance abuse disorders endanger young people; alcohol abuse is a serious problem; persons with PTSD are faking their symptoms for secondary gains.
Mental illness and health in society	Stigma	People with MI are: strange, unpredictable, irresponsible, incompetent, incapable and unlikely to succeed; people with MI cannot take care of themselves; PTSD is used as an excuse for murder.
	Responsibility of society	Economic and social conditions can lead to MI; society can provide support for persons with MI; society should do more to help and care for persons with MI; persons with MI can be integrated into society.
	Politics	Mental health is not a priority for the government; if people with MI act illegally, they are not punished; NGOs are providing help and support for persons with PTSD; antistigma activities are important.
	Media	Media headlines can have negative influence on mental health state; media influences prevalence of eating disorders.

Celebrities	Celebrities could serve as positive/negative prototypes for persons with MI; psychiatric diagnosis determines the career of celebrity, persons with MI could be successful despite mental condition, persons with MI can be creative.
Family	Families of patients with MI suffer; relatives can also develop MI; living with a person with MI can be difficult.
Psychiatric services	Psychiatry can be misused as punishment; psychiatry can be abused by justice system, politicians, authorities; psychiatrists are not providing adequate care.
Psychiatric institutions	There is lack of psychiatrists and other mental health professionals; psychiatric hospitals are perceived as dangerous penalty institutions; psychiatric care is good for patients.
Psychiatric research	Research in psychiatry is making progress; research in psychiatry is important.
Mental illness and aggression	People with MI behave in a strange and dangerous manner; persons with MI commit criminal offenses; persons with MI are aggressive.
	Persons with MI cannot defend themselves; persons with MI are vulnerable; aggression is not associated only with persons with MI.

Note. MI = mental illness; PTSD = posttraumatic stress disorder; NGOs = nongovernmental organizations.

(a) mental illness as a medical condition, (b) mental illness and society, (c) psychiatric services, and (d) mental illness and aggression. Table 3 shows subsequent subgroups and examples of the statements.

Discussion

This is the first comparative study on mental health/illness issues in the printed media in the three Central European countries of Croatia, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. Compared to similar studies, mostly conducted in English speaking countries—Australia (Francis et al., 2005), Canada (Day & Page, 1986; Stuart, 2003), New Zealand (Coverdale et al., 2002), the United States (Corrigan et al., 2005), the United Kingdom (Philo, 1996)—and a few others—Serbia (Bilic & Georgaca, 2007), Italy (Carpiniello, Girau, & Orru, 2007), Turkey (Boke et al., 2007)—some new observations are worth mentioning. These include the length of the article and its effect on the global impression of the article, the relation between the coding of the headline and the article itself, and the vast disconnection between the real prevalence of some disorders and their coverage in the printed media.

We collected 450 articles in the study, which amounts to an average of 30 articles with mental health/illness issues each week in each country in the most read newspapers and magazines. In our opinion, this is a relatively high number compared to the space devoted to articles related to other medical specialties and their patients. This finding might be promising, suggesting a growing understanding of the importance of mental health/illness in the society, but in the light of the following discussion this hopeful assumption fades.

More important than the absolute numbers of how many articles are represented in each media type (broadsheets: 256, tabloids: 153, magazines: 41) was the different distribution of articles according to the coding of global impression. Whereas broadsheets and magazines were almost equally represented in all four categories (in positive and neutral as well as in mixed and negative), tabloids clearly dominated in the category of negative articles (89 articles out of 153).

A closer look at the number of articles that were published on the front page reveals another interesting finding. The negative/positive ratio of 3.7 for the front page articles is higher compared to the later sections where negative/positive ratio was 1.7, thus augmenting the negative effect of the story on the public. The explanation seems clear: negative stories attract more attention and therefore sell the media product better than positive ones (Stuart, 2003). It is interesting to note that major differences regarding the prevalence of violence are not found among articles from later sections.

The most surprising result was the vast difference in the length of the articles when grouped in positive and negative clusters. “Positive” articles were more than 50% longer than “negative” ones. This finding may be an unfortunate result of today’s journalistic practice where space on the page means money. Correct expressions such as “a person with schizophrenia” are replaced with the label *schizophrenic*, and facts on therapy and recovery are dispensable. This finding corresponds to articles in magazines having a much better negative/positive ratio of 0.6 compared with that of broadsheets (1.0) and especially that of tabloids (6.8). One conclusion could be that longer articles are more positive because the journalist has more room to give accurate details.

A similar study completed in Australia (Francis et al., 2004) found that 19.3% articles in newspapers were related to depression, a finding comparable to what we have found in all three countries (18.7%). In contrast to Croatia and the Slovak Republic, where the coverage of affective disorder was higher (20.0% and 25.6%, respectively), in the Czech Republic we found only 12.3% of the articles covered these conditions. Although much has been done to raise awareness of depression in the Czech Republic, it seems that more progress is still needed in this sphere. It is interesting to note that it appears that substance abuse disorders at least seem to be covered according to their real prevalence in the three countries, as the use of alcohol and so-called “soft drugs” is relatively high compared with other regions. All three countries are in the top ten countries in Europe regarding alcohol consumption (World Health Organization, 2009). This is not the case, however, when comparing the correlation of actual rates of mental illness in the populations for other conditions (schizophrenia and eating disorders overrepresented; anxiety disorders, dementia, on the other hand, underrepresented).

We found it disturbing that only 5 out of 60 articles in which *psychosis* was mentioned were coded as positive, with similar results across countries. Psychosis seems to be the most stigmatized mental disorder, a result also found in several similar studies (e.g., Boke et al., 2007; Francis et al., 2004; Nairn, Coverdale, & Classen, 2001; Stuart, 2003). Building upon the results of recent study among German citizens, even improving mental health literacy about mental illnesses and in particular about schizophrenia does not necessarily lead to improvement of public attitudes toward people with mental illness (Angermeyer, Holzinger, & Matschinger, 2009). Combating the prejudice against this severe mental condition remains one of the biggest challenges for the antistigma campaigns in Central Europe also. On the other hand, eating disorders achieved the best score from all mental disorders, with a negative/positive ratio of 0.3.

Until now, countries in Central Europe have not been well represented in the long list of studies that have found a connection between mental health/illness issues and violence (Allen & Nairn, 1997; Corrigan et al., 2005; Philo et al., 1994; Ward, 1997). The one exception is a Serbian study (Bilic & Georgaca, 2007) that revealed that the topic of dangerousness of individuals with mental disorders was present in approximately one third of all newspaper articles. A similar study conducted in Great Britain came to the conclusion that 46% of articles contained references to crime (Ward). These numbers are very close to our findings, although they vary among the countries studied. The rates of articles dealing with aggression of people with mental illness is much higher in Croatia (49%), which might be related to the recent 1991–1995 war. Even though the suicide rate has decreased in the postwar period (Bosnar et al., 2005), cases of suicide attempts and completed suicides among veterans with posttraumatic stress disorder are not rare (Loncar et al., 2004) and significant attention is still paid to these incidents in the Croatian printed media. Nevertheless, in all three countries, the level of portrayal of individuals with mental illness as perpetrators of aggressive acts is high even though studies have shown that individuals with mental disorders who are not also using drugs or alcohol are not significantly more likely to commit violent crime than the general population (Steadman et al., 1998; Ward, 1997).

In a contrary finding, little attention is paid to individuals with mental illness as victims of acts of aggression, even though victimization is more common than aggressive behavior by these individuals (Hodgins, Cree, Alderton, & Mak, 2008).

When analyzing what kind of aggressive acts are most often connected with individuals with mental illness, we can say that heteroaggressive acts (e.g., homicide, physical assault, aggression against objects) outnumbered the autoaggressive ones (committed or attempted suicide, self-harm) almost twofold in the Czech Republic, threefold in Slovakia, and ninefold in Croatia.

It is interesting to note that when mixed and negative articles—that is, those containing at least some negative statements—were collapsed into one category, it included more than half of all articles in the Czech Republic and Slovakia and more than three quarters in Croatia. As much as these findings may be discouraging for mental health consumers, the more it should encourage all antistigma campaigners to continue their efforts. These negative stereotypes result in decreased life opportunities and loss of independent functioning of persons with mental illness (Henderson & Thornicroft, 2009; Hinshaw & Stier, 2008).

Although individuals with mental illness or their families appeared in some articles as sources of information, those articles tended to be negative rather than positive (negative/positive ratio = 1.8). This is in contrast to other studies that have showed that presentation of mental illnesses in the form of self-portraits by the affected persons resulted in their positive image accentuating their ability to overcome stigma (Byrne, 2003; Nairn & Coverdale, 2005). This is also in contrast to recommendations for responsible journalism, which suggest that articles that involve individuals with mental illness and their families should focus not only on symptoms or consequences of the illness, but also on therapy and recovery, showing a more positive picture of living with mental illness (Nairn, 1999). It seems not to be the case in the three countries studied. We have also found that 36% of articles had quotes or perspectives of mental health professionals which is significantly higher than the 15% reported by Wahl and coauthors from the United States (Wahl, 2001). In contrast with the negative effect of presenting the patients as a source of information, we have found an association between the presence of a mental health professional in the story and a positive global impression rating (negative/positive ratio = 0.5). This is also consistent with previous research comparing media representations of general medical issues with psychiatric ones. Where general medicine has a “bad doctor” focus, psychiatry has a “bad patient” angle (Byrne, 2000). An even greater predictor of positive outcome than inclusion of a mental health professional is reference to a scientific survey (negative/positive ratio = 0.1).

Our qualitative analysis revealed what topics are dealt with articles related to mental illness. The first group consists of articles describing mental illness as a “medical condition,” including prevention, treatment, and consequences. The biggest group consisted of articles in relation to “society,” in which dominated the issues of stigmatization and politics. “Psychiatric services” group was represented with leading themes; misuse of psychiatry and quality of mental health care. In many articles, “aggression” connected with mental illness presented the fundamental motive and was therefore identified as a group.

Several limitations of this study should be mentioned and considered in future research. First, the results relate to five 1-week periods, so some stories may have been overrepresented or missed completely. Second, the sample of the articles could be limited by keywords that we set. Third, the smaller number of articles in Croatia might have resulted from the use of a different type of search service provided by agencies collecting the articles. In contrast to the Czech and Slovak Web-based search engines using only keywords, the Croatian agency used real people who

excluded the articles that did not have mental health/illness as a main topic of the article. Some of the relevant articles could have been overlooked due to this different approach. Last, our analyses are based on a rater's interpretation of the articles and on the final joint agreement of all raters in each country. Consensus ratings minimize unreliability for within-country rating but cannot control for unreliability among country ratings. As in almost all other studies in this field, only written materials are analyzed, so important visual information, such as photos, are omitted in the coding process. This might shift the final coding on the axis from positive to negative, or just as likely in the other direction.

The media representations of mental illness reported in this article show a few common features across the countries that we studied. We report a similarly high level of negative articles and very bad coverage of persons with psychosis in general, as well as a few differences, such as more frequent coverage of aggressive behavior in association with mental illness in Croatia or longer articles on mental health/illness issues published in Slovakia. In many of the characteristics studied, the Czech Republic and Slovakia are much closer to each other than to Croatia. This might be explained by a long history of shared journalism practice, similar political, social and economical factors, and absence of recent war.

Even though mental health professionals in Croatia have created recommendations for responsible suicide reporting (Suicidi Info, 2006), results of this study show that more effort and productive collaboration has to occur to achieve a more positive picture of mental illness in the Croatian printed media. Given that Croatia has a history of joint education of health professionals and health journalists, through the annual "Media and Health" course (Vukusic Rukavina, Brborovic, & Harapin, 2007), this joint educational experience could serve as a starting point for the development and implementation of broader recommendations (covering not only suicides) for responsible reporting about mental illnesses. Recently, in the Czech Republic and in the Slovak Republic, press conferences for health journalists have been introduced. Some encouraging changes following these interventions might be tracked, as journalists have been in closer contact with mental health professionals. These new activities, however, are just the initial steps in what must be a longer term effort at improving mutual collaboration. Moreover, the authors of this study intend to share our findings with students of journalism, who are the primary target group of such campaigns, because they are the future of journalism in all three countries. This study serves as a basis for those educational campaigns and is tailored specifically for each country involved in this study. The ultimate goal of this effort is to improve media coverage of mental health/illness issues, minimize potential discriminatory practices, and increase help-seeking behavior.

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Development of the PICMIN (picture of mental illness in newspapers): instrument to assess mental illness stigma in print media

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Abstract

Purpose The aim of this paper is to report on the development and applicability of a standardised and objective measure of stigma of mental illness in print media. Picture of mental illness in newspapers (PICMIN) instrument consists of eleven descriptive and five analytical categories. It is intended to allow comparison among countries and different studies over time.

Methods The research team conducted a three-phase study to develop the instrument based on the principles of content analysis and test its inter-coder reliability (ICR). In the first phase, keyword search and ICR assessment was performed on articles from Croatia (75), Czech Republic (203), and Slovakia (172). The second phase consisted of instrument revision and training, along with ICR reassessment on 40 articles from USA and UK. In the third, main phase articles from Croatia (238), Czech Republic (226), and Slovakia (158) were analysed with the final version of the PICMIN instrument.

Results Across three countries, ICR was found acceptable to assess mental illness representations related to stigma in print media. Print media representations of the mental illness in Croatia, Czech Republic, and Slovakia significantly differed in the type of media distribution, whether headline of the article was positioned on the media cover, in the use of a sensationalistic style of writing, in the association of aggressive behaviour with persons with mental illness and in the distribution of the global impression of the headline.

Conclusions PICMIN instrument allows comparison among countries and different studies over time.

Keywords Instrument · Mental illness · Stigma · Print media · Content analysis

Introduction

Mental illnesses are one of the most stigmatised conditions in our society [1–7]. Numerous studies have been conducted in order to assess attitudes towards people with mental illnesses and associated stigma. Link and colleagues [8] provided a systematic review of mental illness stigma assessments in which they described and discussed numerous scales developed for measuring stigma.

The media are considered to be the primary source of public information regarding mental health and illness [9–11]. Numerous studies have documented an association between negative media portrayals of people with mental illness and the public's negative attitudes [12–14]. It has also been found that stigmatising media representations have a direct negative impact on individuals living with mental illness [15] and on social policies [16–18].

Over the last 20 years, there has been an increasing interest in the role of printed media in conveying negative

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attitudes towards people with mental illness [13, 19–25]. Although qualitative studies dealing with the stigma of mental illness in printed media have mainly used content analysis or discourse analysis [26], there is no standardised measurement of the stigma of mental illness in printed media, particularly for use in international studies using clearly operationalised definitions.

The aim of this paper is to report on the development of a standardised and objective measure of the stigma of mental illness in print media—PICMIN (picture of mental illness in newspapers) instrument. The PICMIN instrument allows a comparison between countries and different studies over time. To this end, the research team conducted a three-phase study to develop the instrument and test its inter-coder reliability (ICR).

Methods

To achieve the study objectives, we've developed the PICMIN instrument based on the principles of content analysis, a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from text to the context of their use [27]. It is a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding [28, 29]. In the field of mass communication research, content analysis has been the fastest-growing technique over the past 20 years or so. Media content analysis is a specialised sub-set of content analysis [30].

Research design

The study was conducted in three phases. The pilot phase included: (a) *development of the initial version of the instrument* for measurement of stigma in print media, (b) *training of the coders*, and (c) *testing the initial version of the instrument*. The intermediate phase included: (a) *corrections of the instrument* based on findings from the previous steps, (b) *training of coders* and (c) *testing the corrected version of the instrument*. Finally, the main phase included: (a) *development of the final version of the instrument* and (b) *testing the final version of the instrument*. The process of instrument development is shown in Fig. 1.

Study sample and keywords

The sampling for media content analysis comprises three steps [31]: (a) selection of the media forms, (b) selection of issues or dates and (c) sampling of relevant content from within those media.

Pilot phase (January 2008–June 2009)

The pilot phase sample comprised articles pertaining to the topic of mental illness chosen from the six most widely read daily newspapers and weekly magazines in the print media in Croatia, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. All articles were retrieved by national media retrieval agencies. They were taken from four 1-week periods randomly selected from every 3 months throughout 2007, and 1 week randomly selected from the year 2007. To identify relevant content of stigma of mental illness in print media, keywords used for searching print media were divided into the two following groups: *neutral terms* such as psychiatry, psychiatric facility, mental illness, hallucination, psychotherapy, psychologist, dementia, schizophrenia, psychosis, depression, depressed, antidepressant, manic-depressive, mania, anxiety disorder, anorexia, bulimia, retardation, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD); and *labelling terms* (mental illness expressions are used as labels, adjectives as opposed to nouns): schizophrenic, neurotic, psychotic, alcoholic, anorectic, bulimic. The print media search was performed using the stem derivatives of defined keywords in singular and plural forms in all three languages. All parts of the newspapers were searched for the articles containing defined keywords, including news, specialised sections (crime, health/science, celebrities, sports, etc.), interviews, columns, and editorials.

Out of all articles obtained after setting the keywords, we performed relevance sampling of the articles in which the subject of mental illness represented the relevant content, meaning that a keyword is presented in association with mental illness, either as a main subject of the article or sideline to another news story. The initial numbers of articles identified were 102 in Croatia, 1,424 in the Czech Republic, and 900 in Slovakia. The initial articles' search revealed numerous articles that did not use keywords in association with mental illness, for example: '*Depression* on the stadium after losing the game; New anti-corruption law caused *anxiety* in the parliament, *Alcoholic* beverages cannot be advertised'; etc. The selection of articles with mental illness as the relevant content of the article enabled us to create final samples in all three countries. The final sample consisted of 75 articles from Croatia, 203 articles from Czech Republic, and 172 articles from Slovakia.

Intermediate phase (June 2009–April 2010)

The study sample in the second phase consisted of online articles available in the English language from the most read daily and weekly US and UK printed media. Internet searches using the same keywords as in the pilot phase were performed during November 2009. After the selection of the articles based on mental illness as the relevant

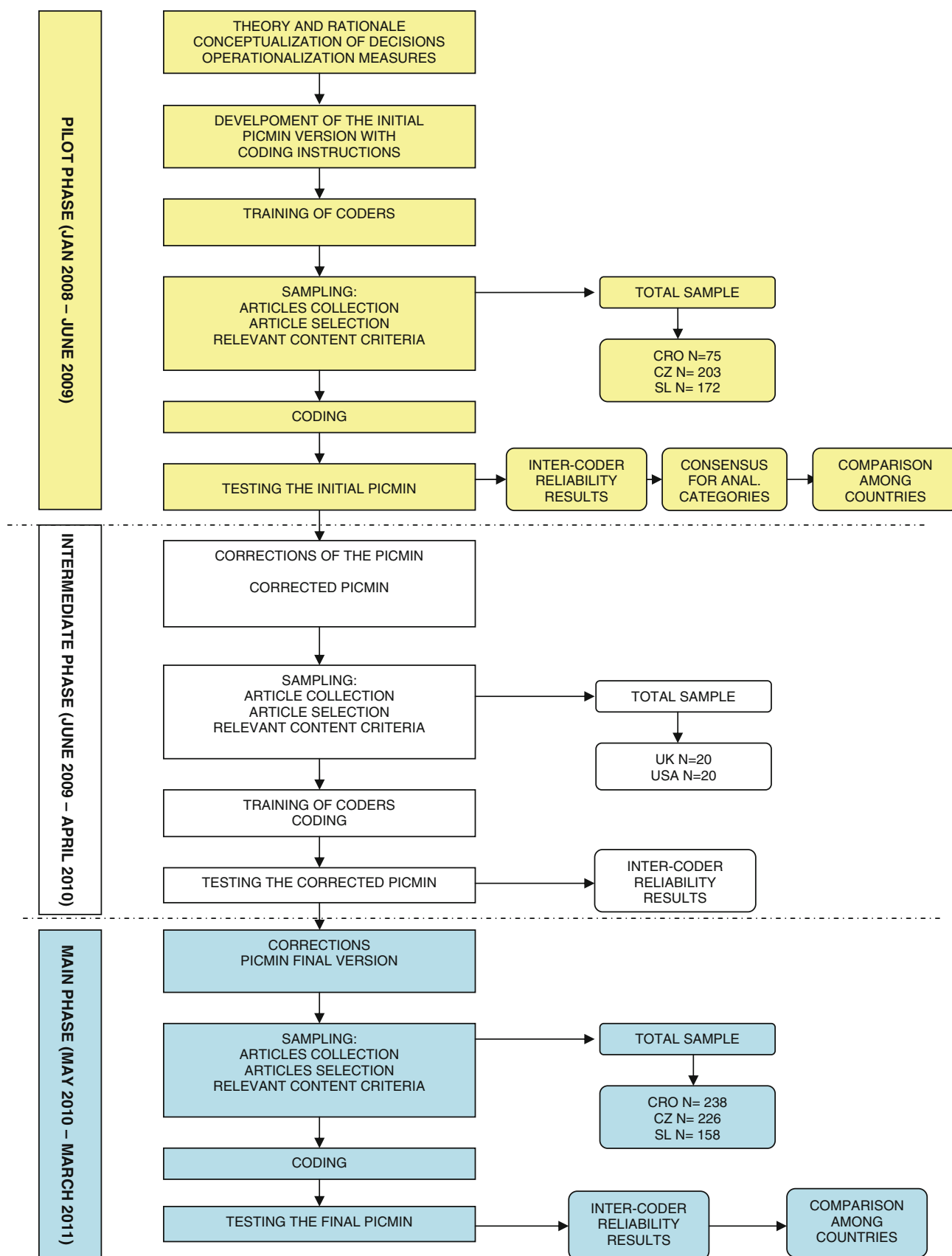


Fig. 1 Process of the PICMIN instrument development

content of the article, a total of 40 articles comprised the intermediate phase sample.

Main phase (May 2010–March 2011)

The main phase study sample comprised articles pertaining to the topic of mental illness chosen from the six most widely read daily newspapers and weekly magazines in the print media in Croatia, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. All articles were retrieved by national media retrieval agencies. They were taken from 42 days (randomly selected six times each day of the week, thus constructing six composite weeks) in the period from 1 April, 2009 to 31 March, 2010.

To identify relevant content, keywords used for searching print media were divided into the three following groups: *neutral terms* such as psychiatry, psychiatric facility, mental illness, hallucination, psychotherapy, psychologist, dementia, schizophrenia, psychosis, depression, depressed, antidepressant, manic-depressive, mania, anxiety disorder, anorexia, bulimia, retardation, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD); *labelling terms* (mental illness expressions used as labelling adjectives): schizophrenic, neurotic, psychotic, alcoholic, anorectic, bulimic; and *pejorative terms*: madman, madhouse, lunatic, maniac, junkie, psychopath. The print media search was performed using the stem derivatives of defined keywords in singular and plural forms in all three languages. All parts of the newspapers were searched for the articles containing defined keywords, including news, specialised sections (crime, health/science, celebrities, sports, etc.), interviews, columns, and editorials.

Out of all articles obtained after setting the keywords, we performed relevance sampling of the articles in which the subject of mental illness represented the relevant content. The initial numbers of articles identified were 1,296 in Croatia, 1,364 in the Czech Republic, and 742 in Slovakia. The selection of articles with mental illness as the relevant content defined our main phase sample. The final sample consisted of 238 articles from Croatia, 226 articles from Czech Republic, and 158 articles from Slovakia.

This sampling is a combination of *purposive sampling* [31] focusing on key media, using only the six most read print media, *stratified composite sampling*, randomly selecting units over a time period (stratification by weeks or days) which has been identified as the most accurate sampling method for analysing media publications [32], and then after stratification by weeks or days the third step included *relevance sampling* [27, 33], sampling of relevant content from those media based on a keywords search and the association of the article with mental illness, either as the main subject of the article or a sideline to another story.

Development of the PICMIN instrument

Pilot phase—the initial version of the PICMIN instrument

The initial version of the instrument consisted of two groups ‘a priori’ categories: descriptive categories and analytical categories (the initial version of the instrument with the coding scheme is available as supplementary web material at the <http://www.mcoding.horook.hr/>). Categories were defined based on previous research of mental illness reporting in the media [21, 23, 34–36], through a consultation process with the project’s mentors and a discussion with mental health advocates and journalists.

Descriptive categories included the name of the article, date of issue, name of the media, type of the media, page, identification of neutral/labelling keywords, section, number of words in the article, types of disorders named and described, and sources of information about mental illness, e.g. inclusion of perspectives from mental health experts, persons with mental illness, or their families. Disorders that were included generally corresponded to classifications from the 10th version of the International Classification of Diseases [37].

Analytical categories described main issues such as sensationalism, aggression, global impression of the headline and global impression of the article, all of which were shown to be important in previous studies [21, 23, 34–36]. In the category of ‘sensationalism’, we focused on both content and form of the article. Likewise, aggression was also assessed by two separate categories. In the category ‘aggressive behaviour’ we focused on whether a person with mental illness was depicted as a perpetrator or a victim or both. In the second category, we identified the particular type of aggressive act. The global impression of the article’s headline was coded before reading the article and it could have been coded as positive, neutral, or negative. Assessment of the global impression of the article was evaluated according to the presence of positive/negative themes and was coded as negative, positive, mixed, or neutral. Each analytical category included a paragraph-long definition to facilitate coding. Articles were coded as positive if the article: (a) supported a positive picture of the mentally ill or psychiatric service by portraying it in a way that a mentally ill person is included in society, able to socially participate; (b) presented examples of mental illness professionals, institutions or NGO’s providing help to the mentally ill, their families and society; (c) articles avoided reinforcing stereotypes of mental illnesses and were respectful of people’s rights. Articles were coded as neutral if the article stated the facts in an objective way and did not give information which might sway the reader’s perspective on mental illness. Articles were coded as negative if: (a) mentally ill persons were portrayed as

violent or dangerous; (b) mentally ill persons were connected with criminal behaviour, endangering society; (c) pejorative and colloquial terms were used and (d) media presentations of mental illness promoted negative images and stereotypes. Articles were coded as mixed if both positive and negative impressions were found in their content.

To reflect the overall tone or global impression of the article related to stigma, six positive or negative themes pertaining to the topic of mental health/illness were defined ‘a priori’. A list of themes was generated based on previous research [21, 23, 24, 34, 36], and through a consultation process with the project’s mentors. Each coder was supplied with this list with themes expressed in a list of statements, such as: ‘Treatment is beneficial’; ‘People with mental illness can socially function in the community’, ‘People with mental illness are usually violent/aggressive’, etc.

Coders could choose one or more, if appropriate, of the six ‘a priori’ defined themes, or write their own conclusion with the main message of the article within the open-ended box in the online version of the instrument that was used for data entries. These positive/negative themes served as a basis for the coding of the ‘global impression of text’.

Second phase—corrections of the PICMIN instrument

Researchers decided to change some of the descriptive categories in order to obtain more information from the articles’ content in future analyses. In the descriptive

categories, the ‘crime story’ (yes/no) category was added, the ‘section’ category was changed into four possible codes (news, including politics, business, economics, sports or crime; healthcare/science; entertainment/celebrities and unrelated to any specific section); the ‘personal data’ category, revealing the identity of the mentally ill person in the article, was also added to the instrument and the ‘disorder mentioned’ category was broadened to specify child and adolescent psychiatric disorders, personality disorders, and sexual disorders. Several changes were made to the instrument from the pilot phase for the analytical categories including sensationalism, content and style, and global impression of the headline and the article.

The initial version consisted of two categories related to sensationalism (content and style) which were merged into one category named ‘sensationalism’. The ‘aggressive act’ category was renamed to ‘type of aggressive act’ and broadened to include a code for threatening behaviour including verbal aggression. Corresponding codes listing the methods used to commit suicide and attempted suicide were added. The ‘aggressive behaviour’ category was renamed ‘role in aggressive behaviour’.

In assessing the global impression of the article, the items were evaluated according to the presence of positive/negative themes and coded as stigmatising, neutral, destigmatising, or mixed (the terminology for coding the global impression was changed). Researchers established more precise defining criteria for coding sensationalism, global impression of the headline (Table 1), and global impression of an article (Table 2).

Table 1 Criteria for coding the global impression of the headline category

Codes	Criteria	Rule
De-stigmatising	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Individuals with mental illness are functioning very well in the society (equal or similar to people without mental illness) 2. Examples of mental health promotion actions (topics related to public health, prevention and treatment of mental illness, political and social activities) 3. Heading about stories of individuals who have overcome mental illness (including celebrities confessing they have mental illness) 4. Educational, informative and evidence-based information in the heading with clear recommendations for treatment or prevention of mental illness 	At least 1 criterion is met
Neutral	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Heading states information about mental illness, based on scientific studies, does not include recommendation for prevention and/or treatment of mental illness 2. State the facts as they happened (objectively) and do not give information which might sway the reader’s perspective on mental illness 3. It is not clear whether subject of heading is connected to mental illness topic 	At least 1 criterion is met
Stigmatising	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Individuals with mental illness are being associated with violence, aggression and crime 2. Myths and prejudice on mental illness (non-professional and non-evidence-based reporting) 3. Individuals with mental illness are socially dysfunctional (dependent on social help, unemployed, detained in psychiatric facilities, etc.) 4. Misuse/overuse of psychiatric diagnoses and services 	At least 1 criterion is met

Table 2 Criteria for coding the global impression of the article category

Codes	Criteria	Rule
De-stigmatising	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Individuals with mental illness are functioning very well in the society (equal or similar to people without mental illness) 2. Examples of mental health promotion actions (topics related to public health, prevention and treatment of mental illness, political and social activities) 3. Stories about individuals who have overcome mental illness (including celebrities confessing they have mental illness) 4. Educational, informative and evidence-based articles with clear recommendations for treatment or prevention of mental illness 	At least 1 criterion is met
Neutral	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Article states information about mental illness, based on scientific studies, does not include recommendation for prevention and/or treatment of mental illness 2. States the facts as they happened (objectively) and do not give information which might sway the reader's perspective on mental illness 	Both criteria need to be met
Stigmatising	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Individuals with mental illness are being associated with violence, aggression, and crime 2. Myths and prejudice on mental illness (non-professional and non-evidence-based reporting) 3. Individuals with mental illness are socially dysfunctional (dependent on social help, unemployed, detained in psychiatric facilities, etc.) 4. Misuse/overuse of psychiatric diagnoses and services 	At least 1 criterion is met
Mixed	The article contains sentences or paragraphs with stigmatising as well as de-stigmatising statements	At least 1 criterion for 'de-stigmatising' and at least 1 criterion for 'stigmatising' is met

Table 3 Criteria for coding the sensationalism category

Codes	Criteria	Rule
Yes—high ^a	1. Gossip/rumour/scandal/speculation/non-evidence-based assumption	At least two criteria need to be met
Yes—low ^a	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Overemphasising and exaggerating the point 3. Colloquial and pejorative terms used 	At least one criterion needs to be met
No	4. Psychiatric theme is misused to attract attention	No criteria are met

^a In the corrected version of the instrument, sensationalism was coded *yes* or *no*, *yes* if one criterion was met, *no* if no criteria were met

Main phase—development of the final version of the PICMIN instrument

Coding for the 'sensationalism' category was broadened into three possible codes (no, yes—low, yes—high) with defined criteria (Table 3). The 'type of aggressive act' category was broadened to include a code for sexual aggression (sub-coded as sexual abuse of an adult, rape of an adult, sexual abuse of a minor, rape of a minor). In assessing the global impression of the article, the items were not evaluated according to the presence of 'a priori' positive or negative themes. Experience from the pilot phase showed that 'a priori' defined positive and negative themes limit the quoting from the article's content in an open-ended box thus omitting all potential aspects of the article to be taken into account for coding the global impression of the article. With the use of the instrument, coders extracted direct quotes from the article or

summarised the article's tone and main emphasis to code the global impression of the article as stigmatising, neutral, de-stigmatising, or mixed. The final version of the PICMIN instrument is presented in Tables 4 and 5 (a detailed version of the instrument with the coding scheme and instructions for coding descriptive and analytical categories is available as supplementary web material at the <http://www.mcoding.horook.hr/>).

Coding process and inter-coder reliability

Pilot phase: testing the initial version of the PICMIN instrument

Each country recruited three coders who were trained mental health professionals (psychiatrist, psychiatric resident, or psychologist). Education of the coders started at the beginning of the pilot phase. Prior to testing the initial

Table 4 Picture of mental illness in newspapers (PICMIN) instrument, final version, descriptive categories

Descriptive categories	
Category	Code
Name of the article	
Name of the media	
Date of issue	
Type of the media	Daily—broadsheet Daily—tabloid Weekly (magazine)
Page number(s) (indicating article's position in the media)	
Key words identified	
Neutral	
Labelling	
Pejorative	
Section	News (politics, business, economics, sports, crime, etc.) Healthcare and science Entertainment and celebrities Not related to specific section
Is it a crime story?	Yes No
Disorder mentioned ^a	Neurodegenerative disorders F00–F09.9 Substance use disorders F10.0–F19.9 Psychotic disorders F20.0–F29.9 Affective disorders F30.0–F39.9 Anxiety disorders F40.0–F49.9 Eating disorders F50 Personality disorders F60.0–F62.9 Sexual disorders F52, F64.0–F66.9 Child and adolescent psychiatric disorders F80.0–F98.9 Other
Source of information ^a	Not related to specific mental disorder Mental health professional Scientific survey/public enquiry Famous person/celebrity Mentally ill person Family member of mentally ill Friends/colleagues/neighbours of mentally ill Police/judge/attorney Politician/local authorities
Number of words	
Personal data revealed	Yes No

^a Multiple coding possible

version of the instrument, 30 exemplar articles from the Czech print media were translated into English and all coders rated them by consensus to overcome possible differences in interpretation. Training was conducted during a 3-day workshop.

Table 5 Picture of mental illness in newspapers (PICMIN) instrument, final version, analytical categories

Analytical categories	
Category	Code
Sensationalism	Yes—high Yes—low No
Type of aggressive act ^a	Completed suicide (method) Attempted suicide (method) Self-harm Homicide Physical assault against other persons Aggression against objects Threatening behaviour including verbal aggression Sexually aggressive behaviour No aggressive act
Role in aggressive behaviour	Perpetrator Victim Both None
Quotes/statements ^b	
Global impression—heading	De-stigmatising Neutral Stigmatising
Global impression—article	De-stigmatising Neutral Mixed Stigmatising

^a Multiple coding possible^b Positive and negative quotes/statements justifying the coding of global impression

Pilot phase articles were independently coded by three separate in-country coders. ICR of the pilot phase sample (75 articles from Croatia, 203 articles from Czech Republic, and 172 articles from Slovakia) was determined for the descriptive and analytical categories of the instrument.

Intermediate phase (June 2009–April 2010): testing the corrected version of the PICMIN instrument

The corrected version of the PICMIN instrument was tested by coding 40 articles obtained by an Internet search in December 2009 using predefined keywords (same keywords as in the pilot phase) from the UK and USA newspapers available online. All nine coders, three per country, independently rated the same articles.

Main phase: testing the final version of the PICMIN instrument

As in the pilot phase, each country recruited three coders who were trained mental health professionals (psychiatrist, psychiatric resident, or psychologist) and underwent intensive content analysis/ICR training in the project's previous phases, cca. 80 h per coder. In-country coders rated articles independently. Testing of the final version of the instrument was performed during March 2011 using a sample of 238 articles from Croatia, 226 articles from Czech Republic, and 158 articles from Slovakia.

Statistical analysis

ICR during testing the instrument's initial, corrected, and final versions was determined for the descriptive and analytical categories using the indices: *Average pair-wise per cent agreement* (APPA) and *Krippendorff's α* (alpha). APPA is a more liberal index, allowing a single comparison of the level of agreement among coders and ratings. APPA values $\geq 75\%$ were considered reliable, while APPA values $\geq 85\%$ indicated high reliability. *Krippendorff's α* (alpha), a more conservative index of co-variation applicable to nominal data, was used as a second index that accounts for agreement expected by chance. *Krippendorff's α* (alpha) values ≥ 0.60 were considered reliable, whereas *Krippendorff's α* (alpha) values ≥ 0.75 indicated high reliability [33, 38]. ICR was calculated with the ReCal

('Reliability Calculator'), an online utility that computes ICR coefficients [39].

Descriptive statistics were used to present all data obtained from the pilot phase and main phase sample. The differences between frequencies among countries were determined using χ^2 tests or with non-parametric tests, as appropriate after testing for distribution. *P* values less than 0.05 were considered statistically significant. All statistical analyses were carried out with the SAS statistical package ver. 9.1.

Results

ICR results

In all three phases of the study, ICR values for descriptive categories indicated high reliability (APPA above 85%, *Krippendorff's α* above 0.75).

Table 6 presents the PICMIN instrument's ICR results for analytical categories in all three phases of the study.

Print media representations: comparison among Croatia, Czech Republic, and Slovakia

Pilot phase results

Nawkova et al. [40] described comparative results for the pilot phase media representations of the mental illness in

Table 6 Inter-coder reliability tested in the pilot, intermediate, and main phases using APPA and α indices for analytical categories

Analytical category	Inter-coder reliability													
	Pilot phase						Intermediate phase		Main phase					
	Croatia		Czech Republic		Slovak Republic		All 3 countries ^a		Croatia		Czech Republic		Slovak Republic	
	<i>N</i> = 75		<i>N</i> = 203		<i>N</i> = 172		<i>N</i> = 40		<i>N</i> = 238		<i>N</i> = 226		<i>N</i> = 158	
	APPA (%)	α	APPA (%)	α	APPA (%)	α	APPA (%)	α	APPA (%)	α	APPA (%)	α	APPA (%)	α
Sensationalism	66.7 ^b	0.33 ^b	80.2 ^b	0.56 ^b	75.2 ^b	0.38 ^b	90.6 ^c	0.81 ^c	81.6 ^d	0.72 ^d	86.6 ^d	0.74 ^d	69.0 ^d	0.48 ^d
Type of aggressive act	90.3	0.81	91.1	0.82	88.6	0.78	94.7	0.89	83.1	0.64	92.3	0.85	83.1	0.61
Role in aggression	92.3	0.82	85.3	0.71	93.9	0.86	93.1	0.85	85.9	0.75	94.1	0.87	85.2	0.69
Global impression—headline	51.5	0.24	65.7	0.50	57.0	0.40	77.4	0.54	92.4	0.80	97.7	0.89	91.6	0.77
Global impression—text	44.4	0.17	74.0	0.60	62.0	0.42	70.1	0.60	86.2	0.81	88.3	0.83	77.2	0.67

^a Nine coders (three from each country) coded the same articles, *N* = 40

^b Sensationalism content coded yes/no

^c Sensationalism coded yes/no

^d Sensationalism coded yes-high/yes-low/no

Croatia, Czech Republic, and Slovakia. Countries significantly differed in the type of media distribution (for broadsheets from 41.2% in Slovakia to 93.3% in Croatia, $\chi^2 = 62.97$, $P < 0.001$), whether the headline of the article was positioned on the media cover (from 2.3% in Slovakia to 12.8% in Czech Republic, $\chi^2 = 15.28$, $P < 0.001$), the use of a sensationalistic style of writing (from 19.8% in Slovakia to 73.3% in Croatia, $\chi^2 = 76.98$, $P < 0.001$), and in the distribution of the global impression of the articles. Positive articles were found in 8.0% of articles from Croatia, 23.2% of articles from Czech Republic and 26.8% of articles from Slovakia ($\chi^2 = 15.24$, $P < 0.019$).

Negative articles were almost equally distributed among all three countries: 37.4% of articles in the Czech Republic, 38.4% of articles in Slovakia, and 40.0% of articles in Croatia. Aggressive behaviour was associated with persons with mental illness in 24.6% of articles in Czech Republic, 40.1% of articles in Slovakia, and 49.3% of articles in Croatia ($\chi^2 = 5.3$, $P = 0.258$).

Main phase results

Print media representations of mental illness in Croatia, Czech Republic, and Slovakia significantly differed in the

Table 7 Characteristics of the studied articles, main phase

Feature	Croatia <i>N</i> = 238 <i>N</i> (%)	Czech Rep. <i>N</i> = 226 <i>N</i> (%)	Slovak Rep. <i>N</i> = 158 <i>N</i> (%)	χ^2 , df, <i>P</i> value
Media type				
Tabloids	21 (8.9)	59 (26.1)	79 (50.0)	140.43, 4, <0.001
Broadsheets	211 (88.1)	142 (62.8)	47 (29.8)	
Magazines	7 (3.0)	25 (11.1)	32 (20.2)	
Headline on the cover				
Yes	17 (7.1)	25 (11.1)	4 (2.5)	9.92, 2, 0.007
No	221 (92.9)	201 (88.9)	154 (97.5)	
Full name of the person with MI revealed				
Yes	92 (38.7)	80 (35.4)	66 (41.8)	1.62, 2, 0.444
No	146 (61.3)	146 (64.6)	92 (58.2)	
Crime story				
Yes	88 (37.0)	80 (35.4)	41 (26.0)	5.69, 2, 0.006
No	150 (63.0)	146 (64.6)	117 (74.0)	
Sensationalism				
Yes—high	52 (21.8)	20 (8.8)	24 (15.2)	35.01, 4, <0.001
Yes—low	103 (43.3)	68 (30.1)	55 (34.8)	
No	83 (34.9)	138 (61.1)	79 (50.0)	
Role in aggressive behaviour				
Perpetrator	85 (35.7)	63 (27.9)	35 (22.1)	0.010 ^a
Victim	14 (5.9)	10 (4.4)	8 (5.1)	
Both	5 (2.1)	0 (0)	3 (1.9)	
None	134 (56.3)	153 (67.7)	112 (70.9)	
Type of aggressive act				
Auto-aggressive	18 (7.6)	25 (11.0)	11 (7.0)	0.065 ^a
Hetero-aggressive	85 (35.9)	63 (27.8)	42 (26.6)	
Both	3 (1.2)	8 (3.5)	1 (0.6)	
None	132 (55.3)	131 (57.7)	104 (65.8)	
Global impression—headline				
De-stigmatising	12 (5.0)	10 (4.4)	11 (7.0)	16.71, 4, 0.002
Neutral	184 (77.3)	202 (89.4)	122 (77.2)	
Stigmatising	42 (17.7)	14 (6.2)	25 (15.8)	
Global impression—text				
De-stigmatising	54 (22.7)	70 (31.0)	39 (24.7)	9.11, 6, 0.168
Neutral	76 (31.9)	77 (34.0)	46 (29.1)	
Mixed	24 (10.1)	14 (6.2)	12 (7.6)	
Stigmatising	84 (35.3)	65 (28.8)	61 (38.6)	

^a Fisher's exact test

type of media distribution, use of sensationalistic writing, association of aggressive behaviour with persons with mental illness, and the distribution of the global impression of the headline (Table 7). The full name of the mentally ill person was revealed in more than one-third of all articles in all countries. The media described persons with mental illness in terms of a crime from 26% of articles in Slovakia to 37% of articles in Croatia. Stigmatising representations of mentally ill persons were found in 28.8% of articles in Czech Republic, 35.3% of articles in Croatia, and 38.6% of articles in Slovakia.

Discussion

Although qualitative studies dealing with the stigma of mental illness in printed media have mainly used content analysis or discourse analysis [26], there is no standardised measurement of the stigma of mental illness in printed media, particularly for use in international studies, using clearly operationalized definitions. We have developed a standardised and objective measure of the stigma of mental illness in print media—PICMIN instrument. The PICMIN instrument consists of eleven descriptive and five analytical categories, enabling a detailed description and analysis of the presentation of mental illness in print media.

The instrument was developed using the principles of content analysis, mainly focusing on the quantitative interpretation of the analysis of media messages; however, aspects of the qualitative content analysis were also included in the instrument as recommended by researchers [30, 41, 42]. This method of simultaneously incorporating quantitative and qualitative content analysis was used in the process of defining categories and scheme coding, allowing the use of the instrument in assessing the tonal qualities (global impression as named in this instrument) of the articles like sensationalism, positive and negative statements or quotes from the article or the contextual factors such as sources quoted. Hence, simultaneously incorporating qualitative and quantitative content analysis enabled multiple coding for the ‘disorder mentioned’, ‘source of information’ and ‘type of aggressive act’ categories. All other categories are exhaustive and mutually exclusive; only one code can be attributed to the category.

This instrument has a similar definition of the global impression of the text category as used by Wahl [23] reflecting the overall tone of the article as negative (stigmatising), positive (de-stigmatising), neutral, or mixed. Previous studies have shown the relevance of associating the level of the articles’ stigmatisation (global impression as named in this instrument) with certain categories; such as disorder mentioned, aggression, and source of

information [9, 24, 43–46]. The PICMIN instrument is designed for this kind of analysis.

The establishment of ICR is essential in content analysis [27, 33]. After testing the initial version of the instrument, unsatisfactory ICR scores were found for categories such as ‘sensationalism content’, ‘sensationalism style’, ‘global impression of heading’, and ‘global impression of text’ (Table 6) prompting the research team to improve a final version of the instrument with strictly defined criteria for the coding of these categories. Defined criteria for coding, along with joint education of coders, enabled higher ICR scores in the main phase and produced an acceptable level of reliability that many similar studies have lacked [21].

Strengths and limitations

The major strength of this study is that the PICMIN instrument allows comparison among countries and different studies over time. In a review of a literature about mental health and illness in the media, Francis [35] emphasises numerous methodological limitations of the studies included in the review. While the findings of different studies tended to support each other, there were important differences in the methods of data collection and analysis used, which makes direct comparison difficult. The most common issue is the method of sample selection, with many of the studies including only a small sample of media items thus non-representative samples have important implications for the generalisability of findings. According to the literature search, only one study has comparatively analysed articles from several countries [34], but the current study focused on a broader context of mental health care and has used articles from only anglo-phonetic countries.

This is the first comparative study on mental illness issues in the printed media in the three central European countries of Croatia, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. The distribution of the articles depending on the media type significantly differs in these countries. Our results of the main phase sample show that in Croatia, only 3% of the articles were published in weekly periodicals (magazines) and a small proportion of the articles was found in the tabloids (8.9%). Contrary to the Czech Republic and Slovakia where three of the six most read daily newspapers are defined as tabloids, in Croatia among the six most read daily newspapers only one daily newspaper (‘24 sata’) is defined as a tabloid. Surprisingly, although Croatia has the lowest distribution of the articles in tabloids, sensationalism was found in 65.1% of the articles covering the topic of mental illness. This finding coincides with previous research which explains that Croatian daily printed media events fulfil the basic format criteria of being defined as a

broadsheet; however, the content of their reporting about mentally ill persons is much closer to a sensationalistic style [47].

The PICMIN instrument establishes the article's prominence, with concern to the article's headline on the cover of the media. Headlines of the articles from the Czech Republic were four times more often on the cover when compared to Slovak articles. The instrument also aids in the determination of full name disclosure of the mentally ill. The full name of the mentally ill person was revealed in more than one-third of all articles in all countries similar to the results of the Australian Media monitoring study [48]. This finding is a clear call for action for mental health advocates to challenge negative media portrayals of the mentally ill and insist on ethical and responsible journalism in Croatia, Czech Republic, and Slovakia.

Unfortunately, our study confirms a strong connection between mental illness and violence already determined in previous research [11, 19, 24, 25, 35, 49]. Aggressive behaviour was associated with persons with mental illness in 44.7% of articles in Croatia, 42.3% of articles in Czech Republic, and 34.2% of articles in Slovakia. In Croatia, 35.7% of articles describe mentally ill persons as a perpetrator of the aggressive behaviour. Not much attention is paid to individuals with mental illness as victims of aggressive behaviour, even though victimisation is more common than aggressive behaviour by these individuals [50]. Mentally ill persons were described as victims of aggression in 4.4–5.9% of the articles, similar to the findings of Angermeyer's study [25]. When analysing which kind of aggressive acts are more often connected with individuals with mental illness, we can conclude that hetero-aggressive acts (homicide, physical assault, aggression against objects, sexually aggressive and verbal threatening) outnumbered auto-aggressive ones (committed or attempted suicide, self-harm) almost twofold in Czech Republic, fourfold in Slovakia and fivefold in Croatia.

The proportion of the stigmatising representations of mentally ill persons that was found in our study (in 28.8% articles in Czech Republic, 35.3% articles in Croatia, and 38.6% articles in Slovakia) is similar to the findings of Wahl's analysis of newspaper coverage in the USA [23]. A comparison of the results from the pilot and main phases shows that de-stigmatising representations of the mentally ill have increased in the Czech Republic from 23.2 to 31% and almost threefold in Croatia (from 8 to 22.7%). Since Croatia has a history of joint education of health professionals and health journalists through the annual 'Media and Health' course [51], members of the Croatian part of a research team conducted an anti-stigma workshop at the 'Media and health' course in 2009 with the aim to present the results of the pilot phase and clarify recommendations on responsible reporting about mental illnesses. Recently,

in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia, specialised press conferences for health journalists covering issues of mental health have been introduced. In the future, some encouraging changes following these interventions might be tracked, as journalists have been in closer contact with mental health professionals.

There are several limitations to this study. First, in the pilot phase, we had analysed print media articles from Croatia ($N = 75$), Czech Republic ($N = 203$), and Slovakia ($N = 172$), calculating the ICR results from three coders per country. The smaller number of articles in Croatia might have resulted from the use of a different type of search service provided by the agencies collecting the articles. In contrast to the Czech and Slovak web-based search engines using only keywords, the Croatian agency used real people who excluded articles that did not have a mental illness as the relevant content of the article. Some of the relevant articles could have been overlooked due to this different approach. ICR scores of the pilot phase indicate low reliability for 'sensationalism' (both content and form), 'global impression of the headline' and 'global impression of the text' categories, hence final coding for these categories was made by consensus.

Second, there is a substantial difference among samples from the pilot, intermediate, and main phases. The aim of the intermediate phase was to test the ICR and assess face and content validity of the corrected version of the PICMIN instrument, hence all nine coders analysed the same sample ($N = 40$). The ICR results from testing the corrected version of the instrument were reliable for all analytical categories besides the 'global impression of the headline' category (APPA = 77.36%, Krippendorff's $\alpha = 0.54$), so additional coder training was organised to improve ICR scores in that category. Third, coder training and establishing reliable ICR scores is a time-consuming process.

Content analysis validity is achieved through an understanding of research objectives, immersion in the message pool (preliminary reading of a sub-set of relevant content), and careful selection of the sample of media content to be analysed [30, 33]. Since time sampling of the pilot phase (based on weeks as the defined time period) caused over-presentation of some stories, the time frame for the main phase sample was changed. Articles for the main phase were taken from 42 days (randomly selected six times each day of the week, thus constructing six composite weeks) in the time period of 1 April, 2009–31 March, 2010. The PICMIN instrument has face and content validity established through a lengthy development process, containing themes and items identified through a search of the literature and review by many experts followed by further revisions. The construct validity is asserted to be the most valuable indicator of the validity of

an instrument established through practical application over time [30, 33] demonstrating the instrument's replicability. As our efforts to enhance the construct validity of the PICMIN instrument move forward, we believe that our work on reliability may facilitate future assessment of the construct validity of this instrument.

An additional limitation of the study is that all coders were mental health professionals. This may be a criterion for quality assurance regarding the accuracy of scientific and medical information provided in the news items. However, stigma research has shown that mental health professionals differ in their perspective on what constitutes a source of stigmatisation from other groups, such as service users and family members [49, 52–54]. Future research and application of the PICMIN instrument should gain a different perspective by including service users or family members as coders. There is also a possibility of creating a group of coders within the media scientists and to compare the results with mental health professionals or service users as coders.

Another limitation is that the PICMIN instrument, like most of stigma research [55], focuses on negative aspects. Positive aspects of media representations can be more emphasised with the further analysis of the data that the PICMIN instrument provides, using quotes from the articles (positive/negative statements).

Even though the PICMIN instrument is not designed to examine representations of mental illness in metaphoric terms [56–58], the inclusion of pejorative keywords in the main phase group keyword media search could have an impact on the global impression of the article. Future sensitivity analysis differentiating articles with labelling and pejorative keywords from neutral keywords could be done.

Further, the PICMIN instrument is intended for use only with printed media, and as in almost all other studies in this field, only written materials are analysed, so important visual information, such as photos, are omitted from the coding process.

The PICMIN instrument is intended to allow comparison among countries and different studies over time. This instrument has the potential to be used not only to measure stigma, but also to serve as a basis to develop stigma-reduction interventions. An overall improvement is determined in the Croatian and Czech print media representations of mental illness compared to our pilot phase results. Increased collaboration between mental health and media professionals is promising, but clearly not sufficient. More activities such as anti-stigma efforts and proactive lobbying are needed in order to reshape the negative stereotypes and attenuate the stigmatising potential surrounding mental illnesses. Journalists should be continuously informed about mental illness and sensitised to the effects that negative media portrayal may have on stigma and on consumers'

experience of stigma. In order to promote responsible journalism principles, national mental health advocates, and media associations should develop deontological protocols on news reporting concerning mental illness, as already adopted in Croatia for reporting about suicide [59]. Although previous studies regarding the stigma of mental illnesses in print media show many similarities in their findings, we hope that the application of this instrument in various socio-cultural settings will provide researchers with more detailed country-specific insight about the representations of mental illnesses in print media.

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Psychiatric disorders and aggression in the printed media: Is there a link? A central European perspective

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Psychiatric disorders and aggression in the printed media: Is there a link? A central European perspective

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Abstract

Background

A content analysis was used to describe the association between psychiatric disorders and aggression in the printed media in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Methods

Articles were chosen from the most widely read daily newspapers and magazines in both countries during five one-week periods in 2007. A coding manual was developed and a content analysis was performed. Aggressive behavior was assessed by two separate categories – the role of the mentally ill person in the violent act (perpetrator/victim) and the type of aggressive act (homicide, suicide).

Results

A total of 375 articles were analyzed. Main findings: 1) The proportion of articles depicting psychiatric disorders together with either self- or other-directed aggressive behavior is 31.2%; 2) Homicide was most frequently mentioned in the context of psychotic disorders and schizophrenia, while affective disorders were most frequently associated with both completed suicides and homicides; 3) Eating disorders and anxiety disorders were seldom associated with any kind of aggressive behavior, including self-harm; 4) The vast majority of articles presented mentally ill people as perpetrators, and these articles were more often coded as stigmatizing. 5) Articles with aggressive behavior mentioned on the cover are roughly as frequent as those with aggressive behavior in the later sections of the media (36.7% vs. 30.7%).

Conclusions

The results are similar to the findings in countries with longer histories of consistent advocacy for improved depiction of mental illness in the media. However, we have shown that persons with mental illness are still over-portrayed as perpetrators of violent crimes, especially homicides.

Background

Media are considered to be the public's primary source of information regarding mental health [1-3]. Over the past five decades, starting with Nunnally's studies in the 1960's, the media coverage of psychiatric disorders has repeatedly been the subject of empirical research. Mass media representations of people with psychiatric disorders, in particular those with substance abuse and schizophrenia, tend to emphasize violence, dangerousness, and criminality [4-6]. It has also been shown that attitudes of people who see a significant linkage between psychiatric disorders and violence are based, to a large extent, on the information presented in the media [7]. Such attitudes are then widely spread among the public, where they persist, become a part of the culture [8], and ultimately result in discrimination against people with psychiatric disorders [9].

Negative presentations of psychotic and affective disorders prevail in the printed media in United States, United Kingdom, and Canada; and the most frequent topics of these negative articles were violence and dangerousness of mentally ill persons toward other people [10-12]. Corrigan et al. reports that 39% of all articles covering topics of psychiatric disorders focused on dangerousness and criminal activities [13]. The crucial issue, however, is that individuals with psychiatric disorders who are under the influence of drugs or alcohol are *not* significantly more likely to commit violent crime than the general population [11,14], with the implication that media accounts are biased and stigmatizing. Empirical data are showing that even severe mental illness alone did not predict future violence, which was rather associated with historical (past violence, physical abuse), clinical (substance abuse), dispositional (age, sex, income) and contextual (recent divorce, unemployment) factors [15].

Moreover, in Italy, Carpiello et al. found a significantly higher number of words, accompanying photos, and more stigmatizing language in reports dealing with deeds attributed to people with psychiatric disorders [16]. Additionally, these articles were also

more often published on the cover of newspapers and magazines, which increases their potential to influence the readers [11,13].

Situation in Czech republic and Slovakia

Because the Czech Republic (with a population of 10.2 million) and the Slovak Republic (with 5.4 million) [17] once comprised a single country, the history of psychiatry and mental health care issues is very similar, as is the socio-cultural background. During the communist era of 1948 – 1989, the one-party system with a centralized economy and substantial restrictions of democratic rights influenced all aspects of society. No civic movements or non-governmental organizations existed to provide advocacy, promotion, prevention, or rehabilitation. Only the main political, social, and administrative changes after the “Velvet Revolution” in November 1989 provided the basis for the creation of new mental health policies, which enabled attempts to address stigma [18].

There is scarce evidence on media coverage studies involving persons with psychiatric disorders in Central and Eastern Europe. In the Czech Republic, these issues were investigated only marginally as a part of the studies done in relation to the image of drug abuse and drug users [19,20]. Recently, our team finished a comprehensive study on the depiction of mental illness/health issues in the printed media in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Croatia [21].

The present study extends this report, with the goals of understanding (a) how often, in media accounts, aggressive behavior is linked to persons with psychiatric disorders; (b) which psychiatric disorders are depicted together with aggressive acts; (c) what type of aggressive acts are mostly portrayed in articles depicting psychiatric disorders, and (d) identification of the role of a person with psychiatric disorder in aggressive deeds (i.e., as perpetrator or victim).

Methods

Our study sample comprised articles pertaining to the topic of psychiatric disorders chosen from the six most widely read printed newspapers and magazines in both countries. This represents more than 75% of all readers of all newspapers and more than 50% of all magazines [22]. Articles were retrieved by a media agency and were taken from five one-week periods throughout the year 2007. Articles from both countries were analyzed as a single pool, as the Czech Republic and Slovakia share similar socio-economical, political, and mental health policies. All parts of the newspapers were searched for key words (neutral terms, e.g., depression, dementia, as well as labeling terms, e.g., schizophrenic, alcoholic) covering all the major psychiatric disorders, including news, interviews, columns, and editorials.

We used content analysis [23] to study articles in which a person with a psychiatric disorder represented the relevant content obtained after establishing the keywords.

Out of all articles obtained after setting the keywords, we performed relevance sampling of the articles in which the subject of psychiatric disorder represented the relevant content. The initial numbers of articles identified were 1424 in the Czech Republic and 900 in Slovakia. The initial articles' search revealed numerous articles that did not use keywords in

association with persons with psychiatric disorders, for example: “*Depression* on the stadium after losing the game; New anti-corruption law caused *anxiety* in the parliament, *Alcoholic* beverages cannot be advertised”; etc. The selection of articles with psychiatric disorder as the relevant content defined our final sample. A total of 375 articles were identified for the further analysis; 203 in the Czech Republic and 172 in the Slovak Republic.

This sampling is a combination of *purposive sampling* [24] focusing on key media, using only the six most read print media, *stratified composite sampling*, randomly selecting units over a time period (stratification by weeks or days) which has been identified as the most accurate sampling method for analysing media publications [25], and then after stratification by weeks or days the third step included *relevance sampling* [26], sampling of relevant content from those media based on a keywords search and the association of the article with psychiatric disorders, either as the main subject of the article or a sideline to another story.

These articles were further analyzed according to the PICMIN instrument’s initial version developed for the purpose of this study [27]. Its development was based on the theoretical framework of content analysis [23,28,29].

The PICMIN instrument’s initial version is composed of descriptive and analytical categories. Descriptive categories were used for easy identification of separate items and for finding the links with analytical categories. Within the analytical ones, aggressive behavior was assessed by two separate subcategories. In the first, the role of the mentally ill person in the violent act was recorded (focusing on whether the person with psychiatric disorder was depicted as a perpetrator or a victim of violent acts). In the second, we identified the particular type of aggressive act (homicide, physical assault, aggression against objects, completed suicide, attempted suicide and self-harm). In assessing the global impression of the article, the items were evaluated according to the presence of stigmatizing/de-stigmatizing statements and coded as either negative, positive, mixed (both statements present), or neutral (none of the statements present). Each analytical category included a paragraph-long definition to facilitate coding [21,27].

Articles were coded as positive if the article: a) supported a positive picture of the mentally ill or psychiatric service by portraying it in a way that a mentally ill person is included in society, able to socially participate; b) presented examples of mental illness professionals, institutions or NGO’s providing help to the mentally ill, their families and society; c) articles avoided reinforcing stereotypes of mental illnesses and were respectful of people’s rights. Articles were coded as neutral if the article stated the facts in an objective way and did not give information which might sway the reader’s perspective on mental illness. Articles were coded as negative if: a) mentally ill persons were portrayed as violent or dangerous; b) mentally ill persons were connected with criminal behaviour, endangering society; c) pejorative and colloquial terms were used and d) media presentations of mental illness promoted negative images and stereotypes. Articles were coded as mixed if both positive and negative impressions were found in their content.

To reflect the overall tone or global impression of the article related to stigma, six positive or negative themes pertaining to the topic of mental health/illness were defined “a priori”. A list of themes was generated based on previous research [10,13,30-32], and through a consultation process with the project’s mentors. Each coder was supplied with this list with themes expressed in a list of statements, such as: “Treatment is beneficial”; “People with mental illness can socially function in the community”, “People with mental illness are

usually violent/aggressive”, etc. Coders could choose one or more, if appropriate, of the six “a priori” defined themes, or write their own conclusion with the main message of the article within the open-ended box in the on-line version of the instrument that was used for data entries. These positive/negative themes served as a basis for the coding of the “global impression of the article” [27].

Disorders that were included generally corresponded to classifications from the International Classification of Diseases [33] and were grouped in the following clusters: Organic disorders (F00 – F09), Substance abuse disorders (F10 – F19), Psychotic disorders (F20 – F29), Affective disorders (F30 – F39), Neurotic disorders (F40 – F48), Eating disorders (F50), “Other psychiatric disorders” (F51 – F99) and “Not related to any specific psychiatric disorder”. “Other psychiatric disorders” stands for personality disorders, including antisocial personality disorder; child and adolescent disorders, including conduct disorder; mental retardation and sexual disorders.

All categories were defined a priori by the research team during several workshops and were used as a basis for consensual coding. Reliability of the coding among raters in both countries was assured by their uniform training and regular international meetings, in which they discussed possible differences in interpretation. Inter-rater reliability (IRR) was determined for the descriptive and analytical categories using the indices: *Average Pair-wise Percent Agreement* (APPA) and *Krippendorff's α* (alpha). APPA is a more liberal index, comprising a single comparison of the level of agreement among coders and ratings, whereas and *Krippendorff's α* (alpha), is a more conservative index of co-variation applicable to nominal and categorical data, which accounts for agreement expected by chance. *Krippendorff's α* (alpha) values $\geq .60$ were considered reliable; values $\geq .75$ indicated high reliability [34-36]. IRR was calculated with the ReCal (“Reliability Calculator”), an online utility that computes inter-coder reliability coefficients [37].

Descriptive statistics were used to present all obtained data. The differences of various frequencies of variables were determined using χ^2 tests. For cases in which the χ^2 test is not appropriate, the p value was calculated using robust non-parametrical Monte Carlo test for independence of rows from columns. For each genuine table 99999999 random tables were made. Each random table has the same marginal totals as its genuine table. The random tables come from a population having independent rows and columns. A p value $< .05$ was considered statistically significant [38]. All statistical analyses except the Monte Carlo test were carried out with SAS 9.1 statistical software package

Results

The APPA for categories “aggressive act” and “aggressive behavior” was more than 88% and Krippendorff's α was over .71 in both countries. APPA and Krippendorff's α values for the category “global impression of the article” (*de-stigmatizing, neutral, mixed or stigmatizing*) were below satisfactory reliability; hence the final rate for that category was made by consensus among all three raters per country.

One third of the analyzed articles ($N = 117$, 31.2%) reported that persons with psychiatric disorders were involved in some kind of aggressive behavior. A vast majority of these articles presented mentally ill individuals as perpetrators ($N = 84$, 71.8% articles). In 19 articles (16.2%), they were presented as victims of aggressive behavior; in 14 articles (11.9%) they

were placed in the role of both victim and perpetrator at the same time. The rest of the analyzed articles (N = 258, 68.8%), contained no information that a person with psychiatric disorder was involved in aggressive activity.

Persons with psychotic disorders were most frequently presented as perpetrators (N = 24, 50.0%), whereas persons with organic disorders were more often presented as victims of aggressive behavior (N = 2, 12.5%). Eating disorders (N = 30, 93.8%) and anxiety disorders (N = 22, 91.7%) were most often presented without any mention of aggressive behavior (Table 1).

Table 1 Portrayals of persons with different psychiatric disorders according to their role in the aggressive behavior mentioned in the article, N (%)

Disorder mentioned	F0 N=16	F1 N=86	F2 N=48	F3 N=69	F4 N=24	F50 N=32	Other PD N=30	NRSPD N=127	Total N=375
Perpetrator	3 (18.8)	14 (16.3)	24 (50.0)	10 (14.5)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (20.0)	33 (26.0)	84 (22.4)
Victim	2 (12.5)	2 (2.3)	3 (6.3)	4 (5.8)	2 (8.3)	2 (6.3)	2 (6.7)	6 (4.7)	19 (5.1)
Both	3 (18.8)	5 (5.8)	6 (12.5)	3 (4.4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (6.7)	3 (2.4)	14 (3.7)
No aggressive behavior	8 (50.0)	65 (75.6)	15 (31.3)	52 (75.4)	22 (91.7)	30 (93.8)	20 (66.7)	85 (66.9)	258 (68.8)

Monte Carlo test, $p < .0001$

F0 stands for organic disorders, F1 stands for substance abuse disorders, F2 stands for psychotic disorders, F3 stands for affective disorders, F4 stands for neurotic disorders, F50 stands for eating disorders, “Other PD” stands for personality disorders, including antisocial personality disorder; child and adolescent disorders, including conduct disorder; mental retardation and sexual disorders; and NRSPD stands for Not related to any specific psychiatric disorders

Self-directed aggression behavior was reported in 19 (5.1%) articles mentioning completed suicide, 27 (7.2%) with attempted suicide, and in 8 (2.1%) articles self-harm was addressed. Completed suicide most often appeared in articles dealing with affective disorders (N = 9, 2.4%), whereas attempted suicide was mostly mentioned in “non related to any specific psychiatric disorder” articles (N = 18, 4.8%). Homicide cases were mentioned in 51 articles (13.6%) and various forms of physical assault toward other people in 48 (12.8%) articles. Aggression against objects was revealed in 22 (5.9%) articles. Although homicide was associated mostly with psychotic (N = 19, 5.1%) and affective disorders (N = 13, 3.5%), cases of physical assault were most frequently mentioned in articles dealing with subjects with psychotic (N = 15, 4.0%), and organic disorders (N = 4, 1.1%). Aggression against objects appeared mostly in articles coded as “others” (N = 4, 1.1%), which dealt with child and adolescent disorders and personality disorders.

Articles in which persons with psychiatric disorders were presented as perpetrators were more frequently coded as stigmatizing, while those in which they were presented as victims were more frequently coded as mixed. Articles without any aggressive behavior were on the other hand significantly more often coded as de-stigmatizing or neutral (Table 2).

Table 2 The global impression of the article and the role of person in the aggressive behavior mentioned, N (%)

Global impression	De-stigmatizing (N=126)	Neutral (N=38)	Mixed (N=53)	Stigmatizing (N=158)
Perpetrator	2 (1.6)	1 (2.6)	4 (7.6)	77 (48.7)
Victim	1 (0.8)	2 (5.3)	5 (9.4)	11 (7.0)
Both	3 (2.4)	1 (2.6)	3 (5.7)	7 (4.4)
No aggressive behavior	120 (95.2)	34 (89.5)	41 (77.4)	63 (39.9)

Monte Carlo test, $p < .0001$

The proportion of articles on the cover with aggressive behavior mentioned is similar to the later sections of the media. Type of media (newspapers vs. magazines) did not have any impact on the proportion of articles in regard to the aggressive behavior mentioned. The length of the article with and without aggressive behavior mentioned did not differ significantly, either (Table 3).

Table 3 Various characteristics of the articles with or without aggressive behavior mentioned, N (%)

		Aggressive behavior mentioned	No aggressive behavior mentioned
Position of the article*	On cover (N=30)	11 (36.7)	19 (63.3)
	Later sections (N=345)	106 (30.7)	239 (69.3)
	Newspapers (N=340)	106 (31.2)	234 (68.8)
Type of printed media**	Magazines (N=35)	11 (31.4)	24 (68.6)
	Words count [‡]	371.6	381.7

* $\chi^2 = 0.4540$ df = 1, $p = .5005$ ** $\chi^2 = 0.0009$ df = 1, $p = .9755$ [‡] t -test, $p = .8243$

Comparison with other countries

A similar prevalence (31%) of articles depicting psychiatric disorder together with aggressive behavior against self or others was observed in the United States 39% [13] and in Serbia 32% [39], but higher rates were found in the UK 46% [11] and in New Zealand 61% [10]. Only Australian researchers found that stories related to psychiatric disorders in the context of crime were relatively uncommon in the printed media (6%) [40].

Organic disorders

Although organic disorders (mostly dementia) were mentioned in only 4% of the articles, the fact that half of these cases were mentioned in the context of some kind of aggressive behavior should not be overlooked. It has been suggested that subjects with dementia often become agitated and violent at home or in psychiatric facilities [41], but rarely are they engaged in well-planned and pre-meditated killings [42]. Looking at this problem from a different perspective, Gerkin and colleagues analyzed characteristics of male criminals with organic brain syndrome and found that those with an early onset of criminal activity (by age

18) show a more global, persistent, and stable pattern of offending than those with a late onset [43]. Negative stereotyping of organic disorders may pose a significant threat to society's perception of old age, thus increasing the likelihood of organic disorders joining psychotic disorders on the top of the "most dangerous disorders".

Psychotic disorders

Not surprisingly, schizophrenia was most frequently mentioned in the context of homicide (40% of the articles). While epidemiological investigations are consistently showing that the proportions of persons with schizophrenia who commit crimes vary from one study to another, the elevations in risk among those with schizophrenia when compared to the general population remains similar [44]. In a systematic review using meta-analysis, Large and colleagues found that a pooled proportion of 6.5% of all homicide offenders had a diagnosis of schizophrenia [45]. Given that the lifetime prevalence of schizophrenia is estimated to be between 0.5% and 1%, there is a disproportionate number of homicide offenders with schizophrenia. Fazel et al. identified 20 studies that compared the risk of violence in people with schizophrenia and the risk of violence in the general population. In conclusion, although people with schizophrenia were nearly 20 times more likely to have committed murder than people in the general population, only one in 300 people with schizophrenia had killed someone, a similar risk to that seen in people with substance abuse [46].

Affective disorders

Both suicides and suicide attempts were most frequently reported in the context of affective disorders, which reflects the observation that out of all psychiatric disorders, depression and bipolar disorder poses the highest risk for suicide [47,48]. Furthermore, a significant proportion of articles reported on subjects with affective disorders who committed homicide. This finding contradicts a study by Rove and colleagues indicating that depression was rarely associated with violence and the focus was generally on self-harm [49]. However, subjects with bipolar affective disorder and substance abuse co-morbidity are reported to commit more violent crimes than the general population [42]. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that suicide and homicide are both extremely complex phenomena that depend on many factors, not just the diagnosis.

Neurotic and eating disorders

Not unexpectedly, eating disorders together with neurotic disorders received the best coverage in terms of connection with dangerousness. None of the 56 articles dealing with neurotic or eating disorders portrayed these patients as criminal offenders. Of particular interest is the fact that among 32 articles that mentioned eating disorders, none reported on self harm even though the lifetime rate of self-injurious behavior occurrence in person with eating disorders is as high as 34% [50].

Substance abuse disorders and “other psychiatric disorders”

Substance abuse and antisocial personality disorders are commonly reported as co morbidities which are significantly contributing to the increase incidence of violence in people with severe mental illness [15,51]. Likewise persons with severe mental illness who have a history of conduct disorder by mid-adolescence are at increased risk for aggressive behaviour and violent crime [42]. Even though the substance abuse disorders received the widest coverage among the main diagnostic clusters, interestingly in terms of revealing the patient as a perpetrator it did not by far reach the high prevalence of psychotic disorders (16% vs. 50%), in contrary, the vast majority of such articles (76%) did not mention violent crime at all.

Conduct Disorder in Childhood and Antisocial Personality Disorder in adulthood were not treated as separate diagnosis because of extremely low frequency of endorsement. This is a notable finding, as the evidence is showing that the individuals with antisocial personality disorder have very often criminal history [52], e.g. prisoners are about ten times more likely to have antisocial personality disorder, than the general population [53]. When analyzing the whole cluster “other psychiatric disorders” that included these conditions, distinct link with violence commitments has been traced. This is however mirrored in the printed media less dramatically than one would anticipate based on the evidence.

Psychiatric patient: Criminal or victim?

A vast majority of articles in our study presented mentally ill people as perpetrators. Corrigan et al. found that only 4% of the articles portrayed mentally ill people as victims, which is very close to our finding of 5% [13]. A high perpetrator/victim ratio may falsely suggest that mentally ill individuals are more likely to be the aggressive initiators of violence rather than victims of aggressive behavior, even though victimization is more common than aggressive behavior among these individuals [42]. Similar studies in other countries reported that stories related to aggressive behavior often ended up in the front sections of newspaper, making them more visible to readers [13,40,54], but this was not the case in our sample, as those articles were almost equally distributed on the cover as in the later sections.

Joint action of mental health professionals and journalists needed

Although there is an association of homicide with specific psychiatric disorders, particularly in respect to phases of illness in schizophrenia [51], antisocial personality disorder, and/or drug or alcohol abuse, the dominance of dangerousness and criminality depictions in the media of mental illness is overstated. Psychiatric disorders in general do increase the risk of homicidal violence by two-fold in men and six-fold in women [55], but our findings reveal disproportionate depictions of violence and aggression in all main psychiatric diagnostic clusters except for neurotic and eating disorders.

Still, our results may be viewed as promising, as they are relatively similar to the findings in countries with a much longer history of consistent activities of advocacy groups that are

trying to change the information the public is given about mental illness. In our case, special efforts to de-stigmatize mental illness in the media should be directed toward the psychotic disorders, especially schizophrenia and organic disorders, as their prevalence in recent decades has been rising steeply. A possible future study therefore might be a review of articles depicting homicides during the same period of time as in presented study. This will enable us to determine what proportion of all homicides committed and presented in the print media mentioned psychiatric disorder, especially psychotic and organic ones.

Study limitations

Several limitations of this study need to be considered. The authors used five one-week periods as the time frame, so some stories may have been overrepresented in the final sample. Secondly, the sample of the articles could be limited by the keywords. Most importantly, our analyses are based on a raters' interpretation of the articles and on the final consensus agreement of all raters in each country. Some level of unreliability among country ratings might be possible, but still, the languages are very similar and even a few inconsistencies among countries were discussed. In comparison with other studies, where different coding schemes were utilized, direct comparisons may suffer from some imprecision. As in almost all other studies in this field, only written materials are analyzed, so important visual information, such as photos, were omitted in the coding process.

Conclusion

Even in the current era of global internet, printed media still present a powerful channel through which information can be transferred to society. Regarding depictions of mental illness, newspapers and magazines have become social structures for perpetuating stigma [13]. Therefore, there is still an imminent need to start organized activities like joint education workshops for journalists and mental health professionals in order to re-shape the negative stereotypes and attenuate the stigmatizing potential surrounding mental illnesses. We encourage journalists and other media-related professionals to work on more comprehensive depictions of persons with mental illness, which will reflect a more accurate reality of their lives. This will not only benefit those suffering so far from the negative stereotyping of mental illness, but also society as a whole by enhancing the overall quality of media representations.

Competing interests

The authors declare that they have no competing interest

Authors' contributions

AN, TVR and LN participated in the design of the study. AN and LN were involved in the data collection. NJ and JR helped draft the manuscript and partially participated in the design of the study. OB performed the statistical analysis. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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OBRAZ DUŠEVNÍCH PORUCH V TIŠTĚNÝCH MÉDIÍCH

THE MEDIA DEPICTIONS OF MENTAL DISORDERS

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SOUHRN

Současný stav poznatků z oblasti výzkumu vlivu médií potvrzuje, že způsob, jakým média prezentují skutečnost, má vliv na postoje, znalosti a chování veřejnosti. Tento fakt je částečně vědecky potvrzen i v případě obrazu duševních poruch v tištěných médiích a způsobu, jakým je utvářena jejich sociální reprezentace. Skutečnost, že média poskytují obraz osob s duševní poruchou neodpovídajícím a spíše negativním způsobem, přispívá ke stigmatizaci těchto osob. To negativně ovlivňuje jejich život, postoje a názory veřejnosti vůči nim a částečně i některá rozhodnutí v oblasti zejména sociální politiky a legislativy. Na druhou stranu média mohou hrát významnou roli při snižování stigmatizace, a to poskytováním adekvátních informací o tomto tématu. Text obsahuje stručné shrnutí významných psychologicko-sociálních teorií o vlivu médií na veřejnost, studií zabývajících se tématem obrazu duševních poruch v médiích, zhodnocení, jak tento obsah působí na publikum, a intervencí, jak lze vylepšit mediální obraz duševních poruch v tisku.

Klíčová slova: média, noviny, duševní poruchy, stigma, sociální reprezentace

SUMMARY

The current state of knowledge of the media influence research confirms that the way reality is presented in the media has an impact on the attitudes, knowledge and behaviour of the public. This was confirmed also for the presentation of mental disorders. The way media provide information about this subject does not comply with real life. Moreover, it is presented in a negative way, which leads to the stigmatization of people with mental disorders. All this leads to negative consequences in the life of these people, and in the attitudes and beliefs of the public, particularly in some decisions in social policy and legislation. On the other hand, media can play an important role in the process of decreasing the stigma, in providing information about this topic in adequate ways. This article presents a brief summary of the most important psychosocial theories, which interpret how the media influence public opinion, research that has been done in this field regarding the portrayal of psychiatry in media, what is the impact on the public, and what are suggestions and interventions for improvement of the picture of mental disorders in media.

Key words: media, newspapers, mental disorders, stigma, social representation

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Úvod

Média patří k základním a ustavujícím institucím moderní společnosti (Marada, 2002). Jejich význam při ovlivňování názorů a postojů veřejnosti byl od začátku zdůrazňován a považován za jejich základní výhodu, ale i nebezpečí (Jiráček a Köpplová, 2003). Toto nebezpečí se může projevit zejména při prezentaci témat méně obvyklých, kdy jsou pro veřejnost média hlavním zdrojem informací a údaje, které v nich převládají, nejsou korigovány osobní zkušeností nebo předchozími vědomostmi publika. Příkladem může být právě téma duševních poruch (Coverdale et al., 2002), které média zmiňují překvapivě často. Cutcliffe a Hannigan (2001) uvádějí, že jen zřídka uběhne týden, aniž by nebyla v hromadných sdělovacích prostředcích zmíněna problematika duševních

poruch. Časté objevování se tématu duševní poruchy v médiích a způsob, jakým je prezentována, ovlivňuje formování sociální reprezentace osob s duševní poruchou ve společnosti. Charakter sociální reprezentace osob s duševní poruchou má pak vliv na postoje veřejnosti k nim (Hewstone a Stroebe, 2001). Navíc mediální prezentace duševních poruch má podle některých studií větší dopad na postoje lidí než jejich osobní zkušenost s nimi (Rose, 1998). Tyto okolnosti vedly k tomu, že si odborníci po celém světě začali klást otázku, jaký je obraz duševní poruchy v médiích a jaký má tento obraz důsledky pro společnost a pro samotné osoby s duševní poruchou. V tomto textu se pokoušíme na tyto otázky najít odpověď prostřednictvím přehledu studií realizovaných v této oblasti zaměřených především na tištěná média. Jednotlivé studie byly vybrány na základě klíčových slov týkajících se tématu

(duševní porucha, media, noviny) v databázi Ebsco a dále byly doplněny o texty, na které bylo v jednotlivých vybraných studiích odkazováno.

Vliv médií na veřejnost

Většina současných autorů se shoduje na skutečnosti, že média mají vliv na své publikum, ale že tento vliv lze jenom těžko experimentálně prokázat zejména kvůli faktu, že média jsou natolik součástí společnosti, že jejich vliv není prakticky možné oddělit od dalšího okolního působení. Mezi předpokládané, nikoliv prokázané, účinky médií patří především změna postoje, myšlení a prožívání publika (Burton a Jiráček, 2001; Jiráček a Köpplová, 2003).

Úvahy o síle a povaze vlivu médií prošly obdobím vývoje od počátečního názoru, že média mají neomezený vliv na své publikum, po současnou představu, že směr vlivu je oboustranný a podílí se na něm jak média, tak i publikum (McQuail, 2009). V rámci této kapitoly budou ve stručnosti prezentovány základní vlivné psychosociální teorie vysvětlující povahu vlivu médií na své publikum.

Za jednu z prvních teorií lze označit „model podnětu a odezvy“ jinak nazývaný jako „injekční teorie“ nebo „teorie zázračné střely“. Model vychází z behaviorismu a předpokládá, že komunikace probíhá ve třech základních sekvencích (a) jednotlivé sdělení, (b) individuální příjemce a (c) reakce. Zamýšlená zpráva je příjemcem podle tohoto modelu přímo přijata a plně akceptována. Masové komunikaci je tedy přisuzována moc neomezeně tvarovat a měnit mínění veřejnosti podle toho, jak potřebuje její tvůrce (McQuail, 2009; DeFleur & Ballová-Rokeachová, 1996). McGuire tento model rozšířil o zprostředkující podmínky (zdroj, obsah, kanál, příjemce, cíl) na celkem šest postupných sekvencí (a) prezentace, (b) pozornost, (c) porozumění, (d) poddání se, (e) osvojení si a (f) zjevné chování. French a Raven obohatili původní teorii podnětu a odezvy o vztah mezi zdrojem a příjemcem a představili pět alternativních forem komunikačního vztahu, v nichž odesílatel uplatňuje moc a příjemce akceptuje ovlivnění. Příkladem je komunikační vztah s přenesenou mocí, v jehož rámci je větší pravděpodobnost, že příjemce přijme prezentovanou informaci za svou v případě, že její odesílatel je pro něj přitažlivý a příjemce se s ním ztotožňuje z emocionálních důvodů, v komunikačním vztahu s expertní mocí příjemce přijme informaci, protože považuje odesílatele za experta (Jiráček a Köpplová, 2003; McQuail, 2009).

Dalším vlivným okruhem teorií jsou teorie učení a socializační teorie. Teorie sociálního učení, jejímž autorem je Bandura, je založená na předpokladu, že vše, co člověk potřebuje pro svůj vlastní rozvoj a chování, se nemůže naučit pouze přímým pozorováním a zkušeností, ale také z nepřímých zdrojů prostřednictvím jazyka a symbolických informací, kam lze zařadit právě mediální sdělení. Lidé se tedy učí žít ve své sociální realitě také přejímáním modelů chování, kterého jsou svědky v médiích (DeFleur a Ballová-Rokeachová, 1996). Na ni navazuje „socializační teorie“ autorů Rosengrena a Windahla vysvětlující vlivy médií na publikum v kontextu socializace. Podle ní média nabízejí neustále obrazy ze života a modely chování, které předcházejí skutečným zkušenostem. Díky svým socializačním účinkům mohou pomoci učit normám a hodnotám prostřednictvím symbolické odměny či trestů za různé druhy chování v médiích (McQuail, 2009).

Jedním z ucelených přístupů k účinkům médií je „kultivační teorie“ Gerbnera a jeho spolupracovníků. Model kul-

vační teorie vyházejí z předpokladu, že vliv médií je pozvolný. Přijímané informace z médií postupně vedou k přesvědčení o povaze sociálního světa, jež odpovídá stereotypnímu, deformovanému selektivnímu pohledu na realitu, která je v médiích systematicky prezentována. Od přímého procesu podnět odezva se tento model liší pojetím postupného, kumulativního charakteru a interaktivního procesu mezi sděleními a publikem (McQuail, 2009).

V rámci „teorie sociální konstrukce reality“ jsou jak média, tak publikum považovány za proměnné ovlivňující účinek mediálního působení. Její předpoklad je, že samotná média jsou do určité míry na svém publiku závislá, a aby jím byly přijímány, musí se jím nechat ovlivnit. Směr vlivu je podle této teorie tedy oboustranný a podílí se na něm rozmanitost obou jeho pólů (Jiráček a Köpplová, 2003). Nejvýznamnějším účinkem médií je konstruování významů a jejich systematické nabízení publiku, které je pak na základě jisté dohody včleňuje či nikoliv do osobních významových struktur, často formovaných předchozími kolektivními identifikacemi. Význam je tedy vytvářen samotnými příjemci. Výsledkem tohoto procesu pak jsou tzv. sociální reprezentace – pojetí reality sdílené větším počtem jedinců (Hewstone a Stroebe, 2001). Zajímavým příspěvkem k této diskuzi je výsledek výzkumu autorky Sotirovic (2001), která zkoumala komplexitu mediální zprávy jako jednu z proměnných vlivu médií na publikum. V jejím výzkumu se ukázalo, že pokud je publikum vystaveno komplexnější zprávě, například o spáchaném zločinu, má tendenci přemýšlet o dané události více komplexně a naopak, což například ovlivňuje jeho vnímání míry kriminality v sousedství (čím komplexněji o zločinu přemýšlí, tím spíše souhlasí s preventivními opatřeními než pouze s punitivními).

Obraz duševních poruch v tisku

Způsob, jakým jsou v médiích prezentovány duševní poruchy, se dostal do intenzivnějšího popředí zájmu výzkumníků ve druhé polovině 20. století. První významná práce tohoto typu byla publikována v roce 1961 Nunnallym se závěrem, že portrét duševních poruch v médiích je veskrze negativní a že ve zprávách jsou zobrazovány převážně bizarní symptomy duševních poruch (Meagher et al., 1995). Na základě předpokladu, že negativní obraz osob s duševní poruchou v médiích vede k dalšímu udržování a podporování jejich negativní sociální reprezentace u široké veřejnosti, se tomuto tématu začali věnovat odborníci na celém světě (viz například Philo, 1993; Corrigan et al., 2005; Wahl, 2000; Olstead, 2002).

Velké množství realizovaných studií poukazuje na skutečnost, že zobrazení duševních poruch je v tisku problematické, negativní a zcela nedopovídá realitě (například Huang a Priebe, 2003; Coverdale et al., 2002; Corrigan et al., 2005; Lawrie, 2000). Pouze jedna studie provedená v Irsku dospívá k závěru, že z 380 článků vztahujících se k tématu psychiatrie obecně, 68,9 % má pozitivní nebo neutrální tón (Meagher et al., 1995). Coverdale et al. (2002) zkoumali obsah 562 článků s tématem duševní poruchy. V závěru studie udávají, že negativní zobrazení duševních poruch převažovalo. Nejčastějším tématem těchto článků byla nebezpečnost osob s duševní poruchou vůči druhým (61,3 % článků) a kriminalita (47,3 % článků). Vyobrazení duševních poruch v pozitivním kontextu bylo přítomno pouze ve 27 % článků. Některé studie opakovaně potvrdily, že osoby s duševní poruchou jsou nejčastěji zobrazovány v tisku v souvislosti s jejich agresivním jednáním vůči ostatním i vůči sobě samým (například Pilgrim a Rogers,

2003; Joyal et al., 2007). Ve studii provedené v USA se 39 % článků vztahovalo k nebezpečnosti a násilným činům jedinců s duševní poruchou (Corrigan et al., 2005). Ve výzkumu tisku v Srbsku se téma nebezpečnosti jedinců s duševní poruchou vyskytlo zhruba u 1/3 novinových článků (Bilic a Georgaca, 2007). K podobným závěrům dospívá i Ward (1997) ve Velké Británii, kde 46 % článků týkajících se osob s duševní poruchou obsahovalo témata o kriminalitě, nebezpečném chování vůči ostatním a vůči sobě. Články, ve kterých je psychiatrické téma spojováno s nebezpečností a agresivním chováním, byly také mnohem častěji na první straně časopisů a novin, čímž se tedy zvýšila možnost jejich vlivu na čtenáře (Corrigan et al., 2005; Boke et al., 2007; Ward, 1997).

Stigmatizační potenciál článku ovšem nesouvisí pouze se zobrazováním osob s duševní poruchou v souvislosti s agresí. Podle studie provedené Sieffem (2003) jsou osoby s duševní poruchou v tisku často vyobrazovány jako zcela přemožení duševní poruchou a neschopny vést normální život. Negativní sociální reprezentace duševních poruch je podporována také používáním termínů duševních poruch jako metafor. Nejčastěji je v tomto případě diskutováno o používání termínů schizofrenní, schizofrenický v přeneseném negativním kontextu. Ve studii provedené v Turecku zaměřené na obraz schizofrenie v tisku bylo identifikováno 44 % článků (387 z celkového počtu 878), ve kterých bylo použito termínu schizofrenie metaforicky v negativním významu především v oblasti sociální struktury, politiky a umění. Termín schizofrenie byl opakovaně používán v kontextu osamělosti a ztráty kontroly za účelem zvýraznění tohoto významu (Boke et al., 2007). Časté používání termínu schizofrenie v podobně negativní metaforu bylo zjištěno i v německém tisku (Hoffmann-Richter et al., 2003). Coverdale et al. (2002) ve své analýze konstatovali, že ve 47 % článků (z celkového počtu 562) byly osoby s duševní poruchou prezentovány obecně bez zmínky konkrétní diagnózy. Tato skutečnost má v kombinaci s jejich převážně negativním obrazem vliv na generalizaci negativního postoje vůči osobám s duševní poruchou obecně. Olstead (2002) také upozorňuje, že v médiích bývají lidé s duševní poruchou prezentováni jako osoby, které nemají jinou sociální identitu než duševní poruchu, a také bývá významově dán jasný rozdíl mezi My (světem) a Oni (lidé s duševní poruchou).

Na druhou stranu byly sledovány i příklady pozitivního zobrazení duševních poruch v tisku. Analýza několika australských článků (Nairn, 1999; Nairn a Coverdale, 2005) ukázala, že zobrazení problematiky duševních poruch ve formě sebeportrétů postižených osob vedlo k jejich pozitivnímu obrazu a ke zdůraznění jejich schopnosti překonat efekty stigmatizace. Dalším příkladem pozitivního obrazu duševních poruch byla vyjádření odborníků z oblasti duševního zdraví (Meagher et al., 1995; Wahl, 2000).

Obrazem jednotlivých duševních poruch v australských médiích v roce 2000 se zabývali Francis et al. (2005). Z celkového počtu 13 389 článků bylo náhodně vybráno k analýze 1123 článků. Podle této studie byla nejčastěji zobrazovanou duševní poruchou v australských médiích deprese. Články věnující se problematice deprese, poruchám příjmu potravy a poruchám způsobeným užíváním návykových látek se více týkaly politiky, zatímco v článcích s tématem schizofrenie byly častěji prezentovány osoby nebo symptomy a jejich léčba. Články s tématem schizofrenie a poruch způsobených užíváním návykových látek podle výsledků výzkumu častěji popisovaly zároveň nějakou kriminální aktivitu. Výsledky další australské studie (Rowe et al., 2003) ukazují, že deprese je spíše než s násilím častěji spojena s tématem sebepoško-

zování a že oproti jiným duševním poruchám je v tisku více zdůrazňována potřeba ochrany těchto osob.

V České republice byla obrazu duševních poruch v tisku věnována velká pozornost především v souvislosti s psychoaktivními látkami (např. Grohmannová, 2006; Sivek et al., 2004; Miovska et al., 2008). Grohmannová (2006), která se zaměřila na obraz stimulancií a opiátů z pohledu médií, konstatuje, že informace, které byly na toto téma v médiích prezentovány, byly povrchní a jednostranné a poukazovaly především na nezákonný statut těchto látek, účinky a důsledky jejich používání. Mezi novináři a drogovými experty byl rozdíl v používání terminologie, kdy novináři používali stigmatizující pojem narkoman, kdežto drogoví experti pojem klient. Výsledky výše uvedených výzkumů v České republice se shodují na skutečnosti, že autoři zpráv se ve většině případů věnovali spíše represivnímu přístupu než prevenci (Miovska et al., 2008).

Důsledky negativního mediálního zobrazení lidí s duševní poruchou

Jak již bylo řečeno v předchozích částech článku, média mají vliv na sociální reprezentaci duševní poruchy a z ní plynoucí postoje a chování veřejnosti a téma duševní poruchy se často v tištěných médiích objevuje v negativním kontextu. V této části textu bude věnována pozornost skutečnosti, jak negativní mediální zobrazení zejména v tisku přispívá ke stigmatizaci osob, kterým byla duševní porucha diagnostikována, má vliv na postoje, znalosti veřejnosti a její chování k osobám s duševní poruchou a odráží se i v politických opatřeních.

Vliv negativního mediálního zobrazení na osoby s duševní poruchou

Studie britské charitativní organizace v oblasti duševního zdraví s názvem „Mind“ potvrdila, že negativní mediální zobrazení má přímý a škodlivý dopad na životy lidí s duševní poruchou. V rámci projektu bylo dotazováno 515 lidí s duševní poruchou na to, jak vnímají prezentaci duševních poruch v médiích. Polovina respondentů uvedla, že mediální sdělení měla přímý negativní vliv na jejich vlastní duševní zdraví nejčastěji v podobě zvýšení depresivní symptomatiky a úzkosti. Celkem 22 % účastníků uvedlo, že se na základě negativních mediálních sdělení cítí více izolováni, téměř 25 % respondentů zaznamenalo nepřátelské chování od svých sousedů v souvislosti s negativními zprávami v novinách nebo televizi (Edney, 2004).

V České republice Valášková a Machů (2000) zkoumali reprezentaci pojmu duševně nemocný u psychiatrických pacientů se závěrem o obecně negativním charakteru reprezentace tohoto pojmu, který zdůrazňuje zejména sociální izolaci, smutek, depresivní ladění, pocity subjektivního utrpení a bezmoci těchto osob. Na tomto negativním sebeobrazu se částečně mohou podílet negativní mediální zobrazení osob s duševní poruchou v tisku.

Někteří odborníci spekulují, že negativní zobrazení duševní poruchy může mít vliv i na léčbu těchto osob, především na pozdní vyhledání léčby a snížené kompliance (například Corrigan, 2004; Dino et al., 2004).

Vliv negativního zobrazení osob s duševní poruchou na postoje, znalosti veřejnosti a její chování k osobám s duševní poruchou

O vlivu novinových sdělení na postoje, znalosti veřejnosti a její chování ve vztahu k osobám s duševní poruchou existuje

několik klíčových výzkumů. Ty se na základě předpokladu, že média mají tendenci poukazovat na násilné činy spáchané lidmi s duševní poruchou, přestože jsou poměrně vzácné (Arboleda-Flórez et al., 1996), zaměřili na to, jak mediální vykreslení lidí s duševní poruchou jako násilných, nebezpečných a nepředvídatelných jedinců má vliv na jejich příjemce.

Thorton a Wahl (1996) vybrali novinové články, ve kterých byly osoby s duševní poruchou pachateli vraždy a kde dominovaly i další charakteristiky, které jsou zvláště stigmatizující, například podrobný popis smrti oběti vyjádřený emotivní terminologií. Ve studii byly vedle toho použity články, které měly mít profylaktický charakter, například článek upozorňující na vzácnost výskytu kriminálního činu, jehož pachatelem je osoba s duševní poruchou. Po přečtení článku pokusnou osobou (stigmatizujícího a/nebo profylaktického) byl měřen postoj čtenářů k osobám s duševní poruchou. Výsledky výzkumu potvrdily předpokládané propojení mezi stigmatizujícím článkem a negativní odezvou v postojích čtenářů. Čtenáři, kteří četli článek obsahující téma násilnost osob s duševní poruchou, častěji souhlasili s restriktivními opatřeními vůči těmto osobám a častěji uváděli, že se jich bojí. Výzkum také prokázal, že pokud čtenáři četli profylaktické články, jejich negativní postoj se zmírnil. Nedostatkem tohoto výzkumu je především krátkodobost měření. Autoři se zaměřili pouze na okamžité účinky tištěného textu a nevěnovali pozornost délce a síle jeho vlivu. Dalším nedostatkem je skutečnost, že autoři neměřili postoj čtenářů k osobám s duševní poruchou před přečtením článku, a není tedy jasné, zda se daný postoj po přečtení změnil oproti původnímu či ne.

Dietrich et al. (2006) realizovali výzkum s podobným designem a zaměřili se na postihnutí vlivu po časovém odstupu 3 týdnů. Výsledky potvrdily předchozí výzkum. Pokusné osoby, které četly stigmatizující články, se častěji vyjadřovaly o osobách s duševní poruchou jako o agresivních a násilných. Paradoxně nevýhodou studie je právě ona třítydenní mezera, během níž mohly být pokusné osoby vystaveny vlivu okolí, který nebyl zachycen autory.

Granello et al. (1999) nejprve otestovali vztah probandů k osobám s duševní poruchou a potom je požádali, aby uvedli jejich hlavní zdroj informací o této populaci. Pokusné osoby, které uváděly jako hlavní pramen informací elektronická média (televize, film, video), vykazovaly menší míru tolerance než ostatní, jejichž zdrojem informací byla tištěná média nebo bezprostřední zkušenost. Studie ukazuje, že větším zdrojem stereotypů jsou média elektronická, což naznačuje možnosti zajímavého srovnávání obou druhů médií.

Angermeyer & Matschinger (1996) se ve výzkumné studii zaměřili na vliv dvou agresivních útoků provedených osobami s duševní poruchou, které byly dobře mediálně pokryty, na postoje veřejnosti vůči osobám s duševní poruchou. Z výsledků vyplývá, že mediálně prezentované agresivní útoky významně zvýšily sociální distanci respondentů vůči osobám s duševní poruchou a že tento vliv byl patrný i dva roky po obou událostech.

Studie provedená Glasgow University Media Group prokázala, že názory lidí, kteří spatřují silnou souvislost mezi duševní poruchou a násilím, jsou odvozeny z velké části z médií a že mediální prezentace duševních poruch je mocnější než vlastní zkušenosti lidí a veřejnost má tendenci pohlížet na osoby s duševní poruchou stejným způsobem, který jí byl předložen v médiích (Philo, 1993).

Politické aspekty negativního mediálního zobrazení lidí s duševní poruchou

Rose (1998) na základě analýzy mediálních sdělení ve Velké Británii zjistila, že od roku 1993 byl každý příspěvek o vraždě spáchané osobou s duševní poruchou, která byla v kontaktu s psychiatrickými službami, spojen s obviněním pracovníků z oblasti duševního zdraví nebo systému duševní péče a kritikou komunitní péče. V závěru studie tento fakt spojuje s rizikem jeho následného promítnutí se do nižší podpory komunitní péče a jednotlivých oblastí lidských práv. Dále udává, že tato skutečnost může mít za následek podporu a schválení právních předpisů umožňujících nedobrovolnou léčbu a hospitalizaci, jakož i zvýšený důraz na policejní sílu s cílem ochránit veřejnost před násilím ze strany těchto osob. S tímto předpokladem souhlasí i Cutcliffe a Hannigan (2001), kteří uvádějí, že od poloviny 90. let se politika v oblasti duševního zdraví ve Velké Británii stává čím dál tím více restriktivní, což dává do souvislosti s negativní a nepřesnou prezentací lidí s duševní poruchou v hromadných sdělovacích prostředcích. Miovska et al. (2008) v tomto kontextu mluví o tom, že negativní zobrazení návykových látek, zejména marihuany v médiích, se může negativně promítat do drogové politiky, a to především v podpoře represivních opatření. Jeden z možných zdrojů spatřuje v tom, že v drtivé převaze mediálních sdělení jsou jako zdrojem informací zástupci represivních orgánů a institucí, a to dokonce i v oblastech, jako je prevence nebo léčba. Tato skutečnost se projevuje obsahově také v diskursu těchto sdělení, který je velmi často odborně chybný a obsahuje matoucí a někdy dokonce z odborného hlediska přímo nepravdivé nebo mylné údaje.

Olstead (2002) upozorňuje, že negativní mediální obraz duševních poruch může vést k použití již tak omezených finančních prostředků v oblasti duševního zdraví spíše na ochranu veřejnosti než na zdokonalení léčby a podporu komunitní péče.

Doporučení pro novináře a profesionály z řad pomáhajících profesí

K napravení skutečnosti, že právě tištěná média svým pojednáváním o lidech s duševní poruchou přispívají k jejich stigmatizaci, začala být publikována řada doporučení pro novináře ale i další profesionály z řad pomáhajících profesí. Příručky nabízejí řadu doporučení o tom, jaký jazyk používat, jak vyváženě informovat veřejnost o duševních poruchách, za jakých okolností a jak přizvat či požádat o vyjádření samotné pacienty. Například materiál organizace CSIP/Shift (2006) doporučuje mimo jiné novinářům, aby se snažili v každém článku o tématu duševní poruchy citovat samotné osoby s určitou duševní poruchou, aby k této látce přistupovali spíše jako k tématu veřejného zdraví než k tématu veřejné bezpečnosti, či upozorňuje na nebezpečí mediálního vykreslení zločinu nebo vraždy spáchané osobou s duševní poruchou bez zmínění širšího kontextu a používání stigmatizující terminologie. Profesionálům z řad pomáhajících profesí zase doporučuje, aby se více vyslovovali k tématu duševních poruch v médiích, aby promptně okomentovali tragickou událost, jejímž aktérem nebo obětí byl člověk s duševní poruchou, a aby propagovali v médiích více pozitivních a „normálních“ příběhů osob s duševní poruchou. Informační brožúrka organizace National Media and Mental Health Group (2009) zase mimo jiné novinářům doporučuje, aby se vyhnuli zbytečným informacím o podrobnostech metody nebo místa sebevraždy

a reportážím, které by mohly inspirovat k dalšímu sebevražednému chování či sebepoškození, či aby se vyvarovali glorifikaci, romantizování nebo naopak bagatelizování sebevražedného chování. V příručce pro novináře vydané organizací Samaritans (2008) věnují autoři pozornost základním obecným informacím o sebevražedném chování a příkladu dobré praxe, jak mají média informovat o sebevražedných či násilných činech spáchaných osobami s duševní poruchou, a naopak jakým slovům a slovním spojením se mají novináři vyhnout. V průzkumu organizace Together (2008) ve Velké Británii bylo zjištěno, že novináři, kterým jejich zaměstnavatelé poskytli informace, jak psát o lidech s duševní poruchou, získali více pozitivních zpětných vazeb a méně stížností od veřejnosti než novináři, kteří žádné takové pokyny neužívají.

Závěr

Tištěná média jsou jedním ze zdrojů informací a zábavy v dnešním světě. Spolu s ostatními médii vytvářejí mediální normu a spoluurčují to, co je považováno ve společnosti za přijatelné a normální. Proto je předmětem zájmu výzkum mediálních obrazů osob s duševní poruchou, které mají vliv na utváření a vývoj jejich sociální reprezentace.

Z přehledu problematiky v dané oblasti vyplývá, že tištěná média mají vliv na své příjemce, zejména na jejich postoj a znalosti týkající se osob s duševní poruchou. Navzdory těmto skutečnostem je jejich obraz v tištěných médiích pre-

zentován spíše v negativním než v pozitivním světle. Tento fakt vede k udržování fenoménu stigmatizace osob s duševní poruchou jak na úrovni osobní, sociální, tak i politické. Díky zájmu, který je tomuto jevu v posledních několika desetiletích věnován, však povědomí o vlivu médií začíná více vystupovat do popředí a jsou realizovány kroky v podobě doporučení vedoucích k napravení této skutečnosti.

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Média a psychiatrie

Ať se nám to líbí nebo ne, každá profesionální činnost prováděná psychiatrií je ve všech svých aspektech konfrontována s médii. V moderní společnosti jsme takřka nepřetržitě vystaveni jejich vlivu, a to od chvíle, kdy ráno vstaneme, poté během pracovního dne a nakonec i večer, když usínáme s kulisou televize či rádia.

Naši pacienti mají příznaky ovlivněné informacemi v hromadných sdělovacích prostředcích a jejich očekávání léčby je podmíněno mimojiné i tím, co si přečetli v novinách nebo na internetu. Stejně tak zkušenosti s psychiatrií, ať už dobré nebo špatné, jsou ve všech typech médií nezdědka rozebírány. Mnoho klíčových diskuzí v psychiatrii – dříve vyhrazených pro vědecké časopisy – se nyní odehrává ve veřejných médiích a dostává se tak k širokému spektru neodborných spotřebitelů. Tytéž vědecké časopisy také mnohdy poskytují nové poznatky a různá kontroverzní témata dychtivému tisku.

Psychiatrie se více než kterýkoliv jiný obor medicíny stala předmětem věcných i fiktivních vyobrazení. Je tomu tak především proto, že téma lidské psychiky je pro čtenáře značně atraktivní, často až fascinující. Důležitou roli hraje také fakt, že je toto téma lidem blízké, dokáží se s ním ztotožnit a rychle k němu zaujímají vlastní stanovisko.

Atraktivnost psychiatrické tematiky je pro novináře velice výhodná, ale může být snadno zneužita a skrývá v sobě četná úskalí. Tím je především udržování stereotypního obrazu lidí s duševní poruchou, kteří jsou často popisováni jako násilníci nebo nesvéprávní sociální ztroskotanci. Veřejnost se tak z populárních médií dozvídá jen málo informací o tom, že se lidé s duševní poruchou mohou úspěšně léčit a vést produktivní život.

Nabízí se otázka, co mohou populární média udělat pro to, aby o duševním zdraví informovala pravdivě, ale vyhnula se přitom zprávám, které jsou zkreslené a bezdůvodně negativní. Vzhledem k tomu, že nemůžeme zabránit negativním událostem, je třeba do standardní novinářské praxe zahrnout epidemiologické a statistické souvislosti, a to zejména v případech příběhů, které pojednávají o násilí nebo o nebezpečnosti lidí s duševní poruchou. Veřejnost by měla být informována o tom, jaká je skutečná prevalence násilí v populaci lidí s duševním onemocněním, aby se čtenáři mohli dozvědět, že tito lidé představují relativně malé riziko.

Musíme však mít na paměti, že se média v současné době stále více bulvarizují, a to zejména v oblasti zpravodajství. Stírání rozdílu mezi takzvanými seriózními a bulvárními médii s sebou přináší nutnost zkracování zpráv, což jim zpravidla ubírá na kvalitě. Platí pravidlo, že čím je sdělení kratší, tím více musí být údernější a dostatečně působivé, aby dokázalo přitáhnout čtenářovu pozornost. Novináři jsou tak nuceni „vyrábět“ poutavé zprávy v rychlém časovém sledu a na zjišťování hlubších souvislostí už jaksi nezbyvá prostor.

Je zřejmé, že dramatické příběhy jsou a budou pro novináře vždy důležité, ale jistě by neškodilo, kdyby se tisk občas dokázal vzdát některé ze svých šokujících zpráv o lidech s duševním onemocněním a připustil si tak, že dobrá zpráva je také zpráva. Příběhy lidí s duševním onemocněním, kteří uspěli v životě a obohatili společnost, by mohly být pro čtenáře příjemnou změnou oproti klasickému a očekávanému zobrazení člověka s duševním onemocněním jako nebezpečného násilníka. Nemluvě o skutečnosti, že pozitivní příběhy mohou pomoci odstranit negativní stereotypy o duševně nemocných.

Jak ukázaly výsledky našeho výzkumu, mediální sdělení pojednávající o duševním zdraví ve většině případů neobsahují informace od odborníků a ani od samotných pacientů. Novinové články, které uvádějí stanoviska lidí s duševním onemocněním a jejich rodinných příslušníků tak představují vítanou změnu. Naopak opomíjení názorů těchto osob v tisku vyvolává u veřejnosti dojem, že lidé s duševním onemocněním nejsou schopni mluvit sami za sebe.

Jako psychiatři si však musíme přiznat, že v mnoha ohledech pojednávají média o našem oboru tak, jak si sami zasloužíme. Nedostatečná průbojnost, se kterou se na veřejnosti ohrazujeme proti stigmatizaci našich pacientů i nás samotných, devalvuje postavení psychiatrie mezi ostatními medicínskými obory. Ještě dnes se můžeme ve společnosti setkat s názorem, že psychiatrie do lékařských oborů tak úplně nepatří. Klasické je také mediální vyobrazení psychiatra jako zmateného a poněkud podivínského člověka.

Možná, že se s těmito obecně vžitými představami příliš snadno smiřujeme a bylo by žádoucí, abychom vystupovali více sebevědomě a poukazovali na pokroky, kterých psychiatrie dosáhla.

Použijeme-li slovník populárních médií, psychiatrii by prospělo, kdyby byla více sexy, nemyslíte?

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Obraz psychiatrie v médiích

Média hrají ústřední roli při utváření postojů veřejnosti k zásadním společenským otázkám. U jednoho člověka ze čtyř se během jeho života rozvine duševní porucha a tři čtvrtiny lidí mohou říci, že znají někoho, kdo má diagnózu duševního onemocnění. Takto se problematika duševního zdraví týká téměř každého z nás.

Tisk a jiné sdělovací prostředky neřídka zastávají názor, že způsob, jakým informují o duševních poruchách, pouze odráží společenské postoje. Je nutné si však uvědomit, že média mají především schopnost tyto postoje formovat. Pro mnoho lidí jsou média jediným zdrojem informací o duševním zdraví. Podle výsledků četných studií jsou osoby s duševní poruchou v tisku často vyobrazovány jako lidé bez vlastní identity, kteří nejsou schopni vést normální život. Je ale pravdou, že v poslední době došlo k určitým pozitivním posunům. Duševnímu zdraví je v médiích věnováno mnohem více prostoru a vyobrazení některých duševních onemocnění, jako jsou deprese či úzkostné poruchy, je mnohem pozitivnější. Větší informovanost veřejnosti vede ke kladnějšímu postoji společnosti k lidem s duševním onemocněním a příklady známých osobností uváděných v této souvislosti mohou sehrát pozitivní úlohu. Lidé díky nim získávají pocit, že je dobré otevřeně hovořit o svých problémech, a zároveň jsou více tolerantní k jedincům, kteří trpí duševními chorobami.

I přes tento pokrok existují nadále značné nedostatky v mediálních zprávách, a to především co se týče „závažnějších“ duševních poruch, jakými jsou psychotická onemocnění. Pozornost je nutné věnovat také doprovodným fotografiím a ilustracím, které mohou korektně napsaný článek značně devalvovat. Podobně působí i negativní a senzacechtivé titulky.

Mediálně zajímavým námětem se často stává téma sebevraždy, které je však potřeba zpracovávat s citlivým přístupem. Známým a dobře popsáním jevem je „Wertherův efekt“, který získal své označení podle Goethovy knihy „Utrpení mladého Werthera“. Byla napsána v roce 1774 a měla velký ohlas především mezi mládeží, což vyvolalo obavy, že mladí lidé budou svého hrdinu napodobovat. Zda tehdy skutečně došlo k nárůstu sebevražd, lze dnes jen těžko posoudit. Od té doby se však mnohokrát potvrdilo, že když média referují o nějakém atypickém způsobu sebevraždy, dojde ke zvýšení počtu těchto konkrétních případů. Nebezpečné je sebevraždu glorifikovat či zahalovat do tajemství, stejně tak by se o ní nemělo psát jako o způsobu řešení problémů. Média by se měla řídit pravidlem, ať již psaným či nepsaným, že způsob a místo sebevraždy se nepopisuje a nezobrazuje. Je také známa souvislost mezi umístěním zprávy o sebevraždě na titulní straně novin a její následné imitaci.

Vhodné postupy, jak zpracovávat mediální sdělení, se netýkají pouze sebevražd, ale celé oblasti duševního zdraví. Organizace zaměřené na boj proti stigmatizaci proto vydávají různá doporučení pro novináře, editory a další odborníky působící ve sdělovacích prostředcích. Tato doporučení kladou důraz na to, aby mediální sdělení z oblasti psychiatrie postupovala v souladu s etickými pravidly, přinášela pohled odborníků na dané téma a uváděla výpovědi lidí, kteří mají duševní onemocnění nebo jej překonali. Upozorňují na nutnost používání korektního jazyka a varují před stigmatizující terminologií. Jako užitečný se jeví návrh, aby se k problematice duševních poruch přistupovalo spíše jako k tématu veřejného zdraví než k tématu veřejné bezpečnosti.

Přínos těchto doporučení byl prokázán ve studii provedené ve Velké Británii, která uvádí, že žurnalisté, kteří se těmito návrhy řídí, získávají více pozitivních zpětných vazeb a méně stížností než novináři, kteří žádné takové pokyny neužívají.

V České republice nemá výše uvedená praxe dlouhou historii, i na tomto poli se však dějí vítané změny. Jednou z nich je „Novinářská cena za nejkvalitnější příspěvek týkající se problematiky duševních poruch, duševního zdraví a psychiatrické péče“, kterou v letošním roce uděluje Výbor Psychiatrické společnosti ČLS JEP a Česká psychiatrická společnost, o. s.

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THE PICTURE OF MENTAL DISORDERS IN CZECH PRINTED MEDIA

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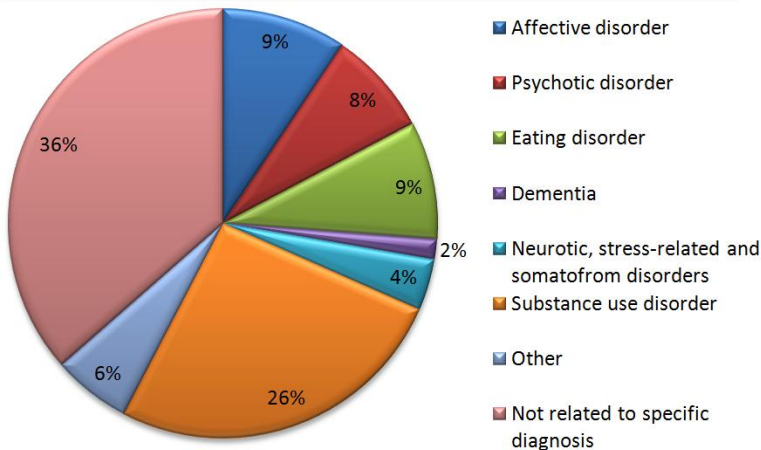
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INTRODUCTION

The media are the public's primary sources of information on those with mental illness. Many studies describing print media representations of mental illnesses have showed that these depictions are frequently negative and contribute to consequent stigmatisation of people with mental illness (Coverdale et al., 2002; Cutcliffe, Hannigan, 2001).

Mentioned diagnosis



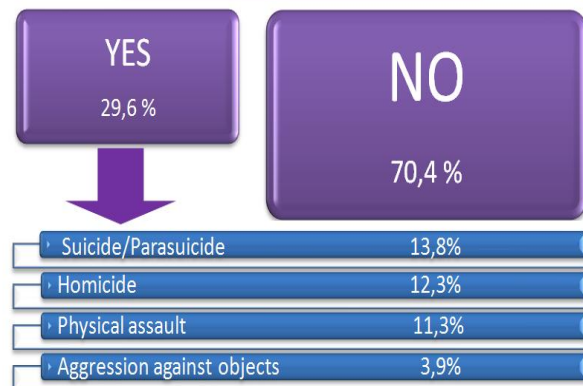
RESULTS

203 articles with mental illness as main content were found, including 115 in broadsheets, 75 in tabloids and 13 in magazines. Negative depictions occurred in 37,4% of all articles, including aggressive behaviour in 29,6% of all items. Positive depictions were found in 23,2 % of all articles. The most represented diagnosis was Substance use disorders that were mentioned in 26,1% of all articles. Generic mental illness terminology without reference to specific diagnosis was present in 36,5% of all items.

METHODS

The study sample comprises the media messages pertaining to the topic of mental disorders collected by using the database of the Newton IT monitoring system, which encompasses the entire content of major Czech periodicals. The articles were chosen from 6 of the most-read daily periodicals and 6 weekly periodicals. The period under consideration was 5 separate weeks randomly selected from the year 2007. The articles were selected according to the presence of keywords with relevance to psychiatry and mental health.

Aggressive behaviour



Articles sometimes incorporated more than one type of aggressive act.

CONCLUSION

The results relate to only a short time period, however, suggest that the degree of stigma of mental disorders in the Czech printed media is high and should be further analysed. The main outcome is to formulate the recommendations for media in order to meet anti-stigmatising objectives and thus improve media coverage, minimize discrimination practises and increase help seeking behaviour.

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The project is supported by the programme "Finance and Delivery of Mental Health Services in Central and Eastern Europe", University of California, Berkeley, USA.





PREDICTORS OF STIGMATIZING AND DE-STIGMATIZING ARTICLES ON MENTAL ILLNESS IN THE PRINTED MEDIA: A CENTRAL EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE

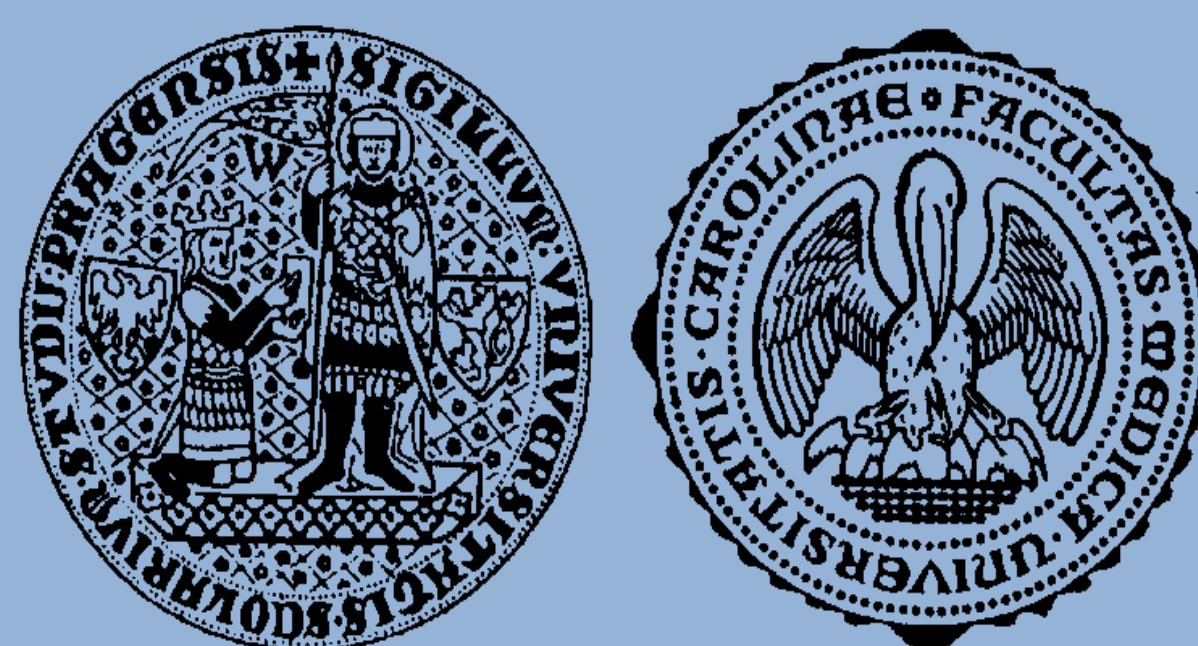


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TUESDAY FEBRUARY 2nd 2010

MUNICH, GERMANY

Alexander Nawka¹, Tea Vukušić Rukavina², Lucie Nawková¹, Tereza Adámková¹, Petra Holcnerová¹, Martina Rojnić Kuzman³, Nikolina Jovanović³, Ognjen Brborović², Bibiána Bednárová¹, Svetlana Žuchová¹, Michal Miovský¹, Jiří Raboch¹

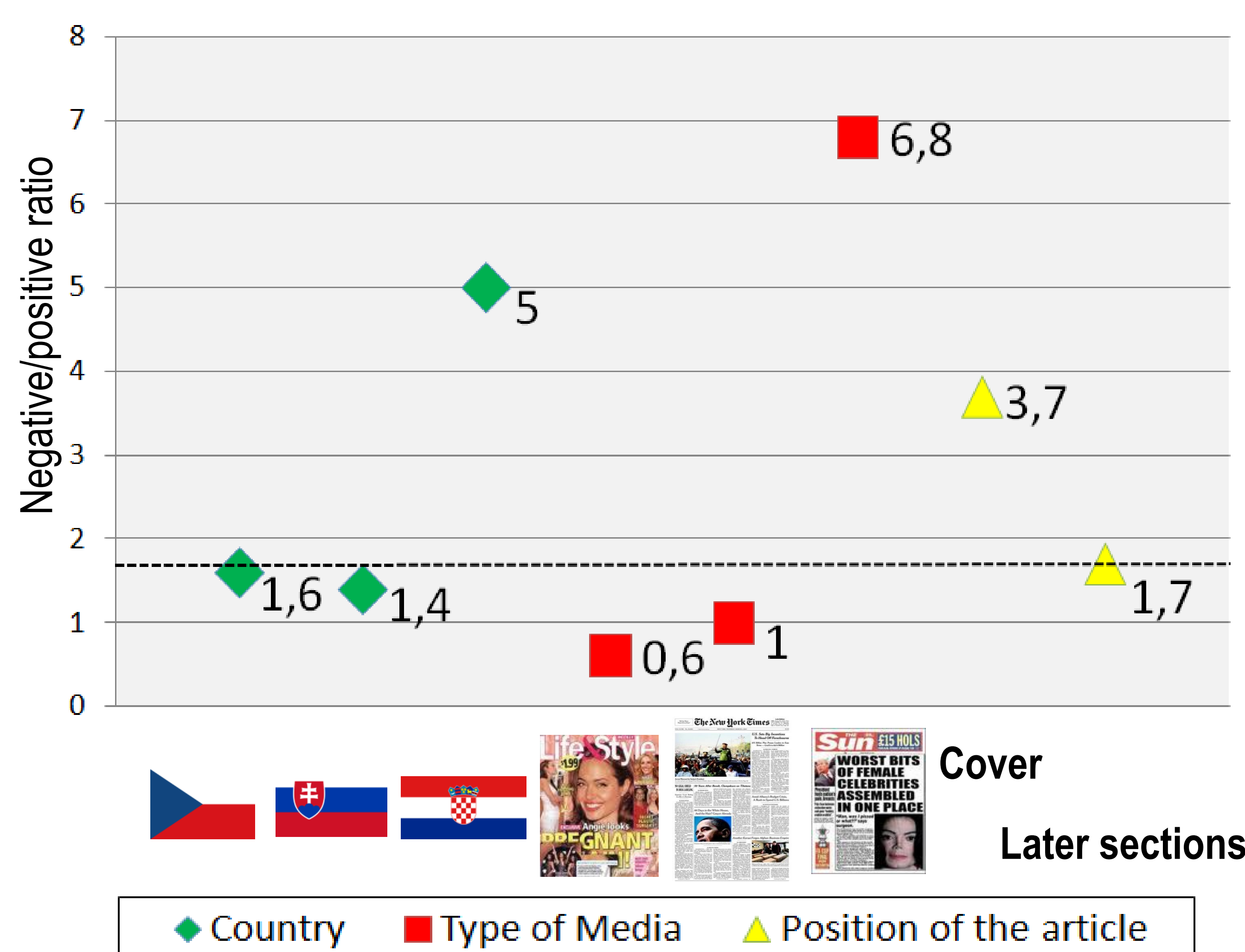


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Media really is the instrument by which knowledge is passed in our society

„First of it's kind study in Central and Eastern European countries“ researchers claim

Many studies describing print media representations of mental illnesses have showed that these depictions are frequently negative and contribute to consequent stigmatization of people with mental illness. The main objective of this international study was to identify predictors of stigmatizing and destigmatizing articles on mental illness in Czech Republic, Croatia and Slovakia.



Some findings were pretty surprising...

61.8% of articles contained some stigmatizing statements towards persons with mental illness. The NPR of all articles was 1,74. The highest NPR was found in articles published in tabloids (6.8), on the front page (3.7) and in the articles where psychotic disorder was mentioned (7.4) and mentally ill person figured as a source of information (1.8). Lowest NPR was found in magazines (0.6), articles in later sections (1.7) that mentioned eating disorders (0.3) and scientific surveys (0.1).

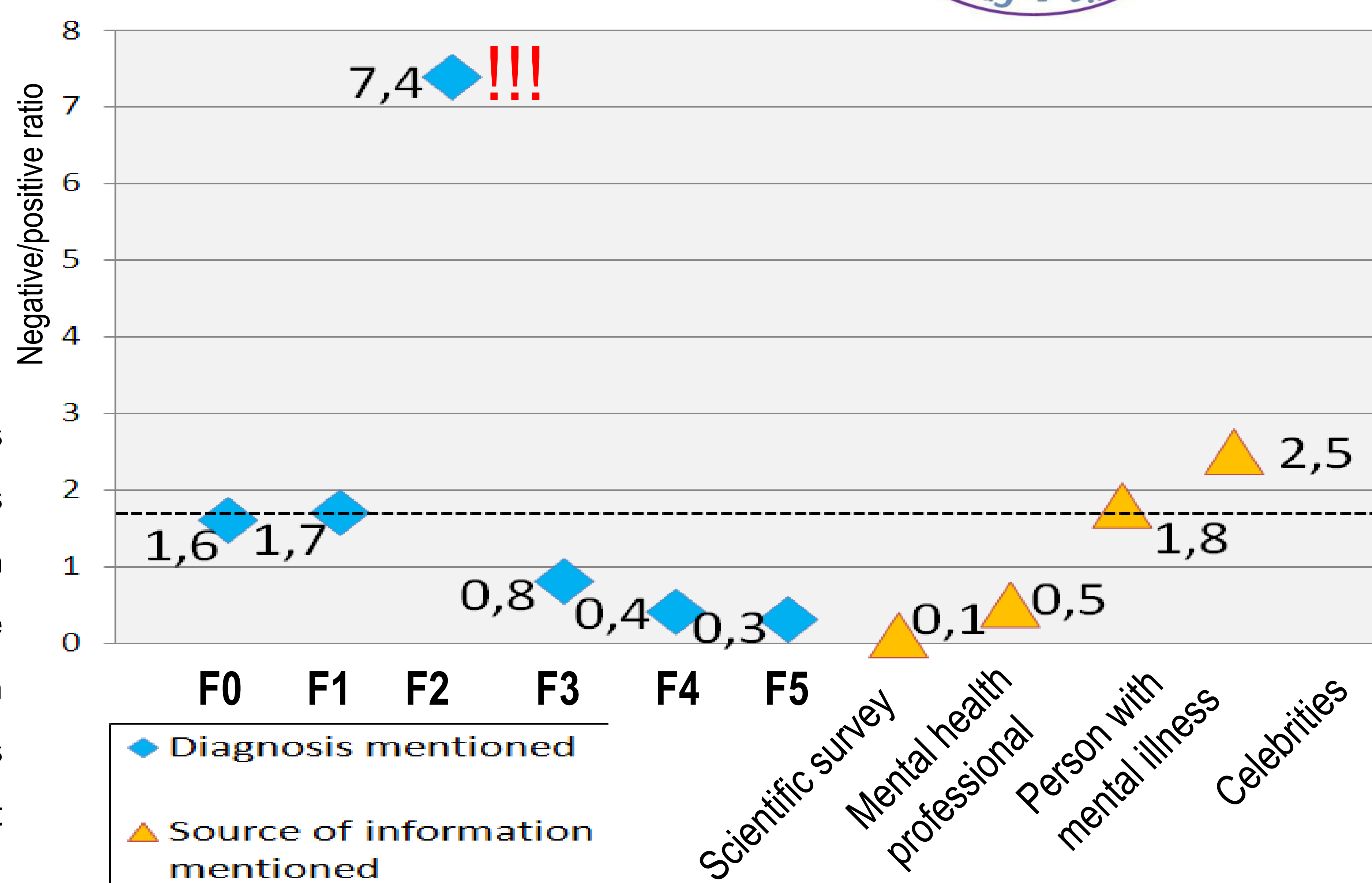


„Media team“ at work, Prague 2009

The study sample comprised all articles pertaining to the topic of mental illness (N=450) chosen from 6 most widely read newspapers and magazines identified during five weeklong periods in 2007.

...this is how it was done...

The presence of stigmatizing and destigmatizing statements was coded and articles were grouped in positive, neutral, mixed and negative clusters. Negative/positive ratio (NPR) was used to assess the predictor value of different features of the article regarding stigmatization.



Weather
MUNICH

To conclude, there is a high level of stigmatizing statements in the studied articles. As the strongest predictors of stigmatizing content we have identified

articles that are published in tabloids and articles with reference to psychosis. Contrary to this, eating disorders had the least stigmatizing depiction as well as articles containing scientific data.

- Motto of the day -

„Education is a progressive discovery of our ignorance.“

Durant, William J.



The Prevalence of Suicides and Homicides in Newspaper Articles dealing with Persons with Mental Illness: A central European Perspective.

Alexander Nawka¹, Tea Vukušić Rukavina², Nikolina Jovanović³, Lucie Nawková¹



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OBJECTIVES

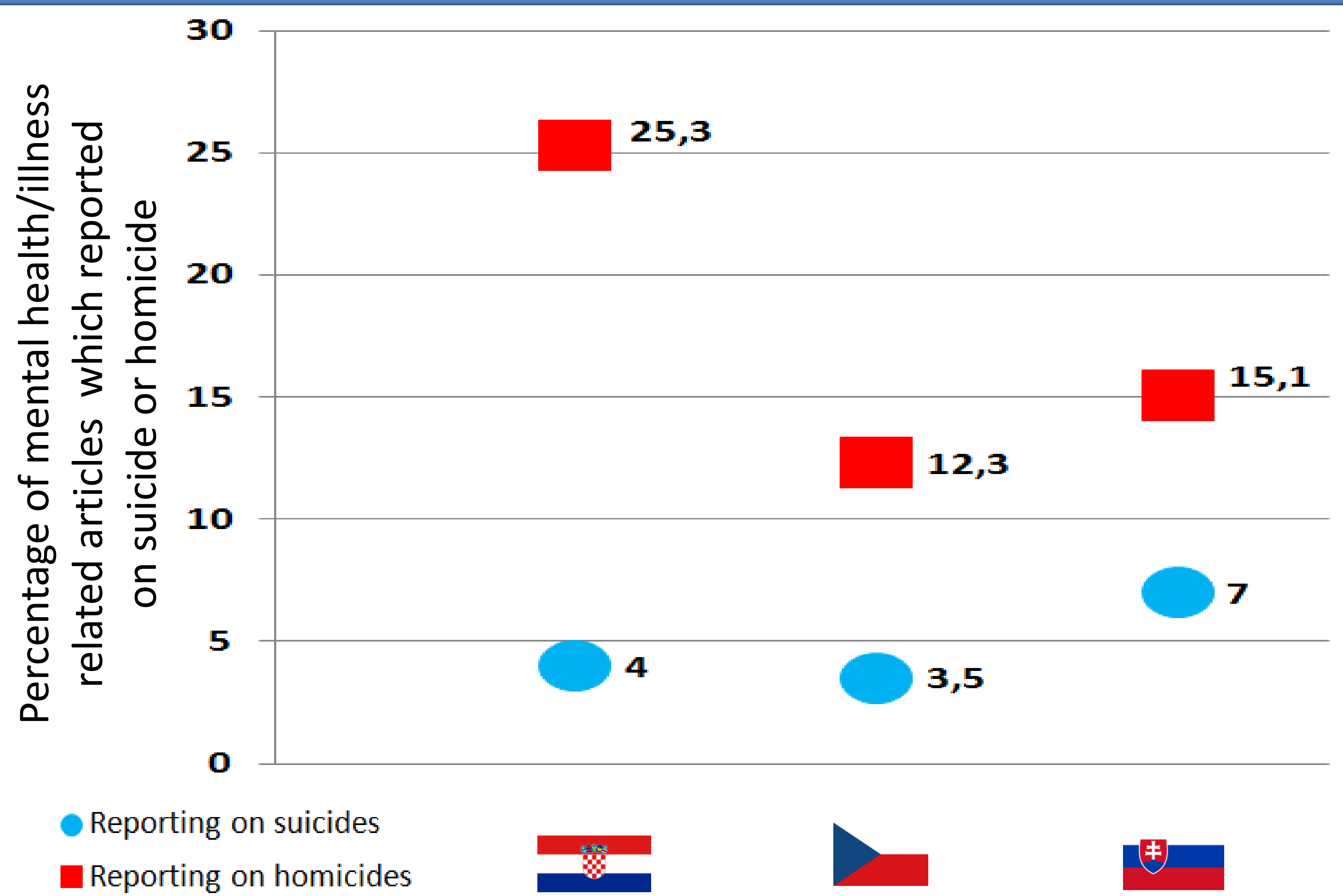
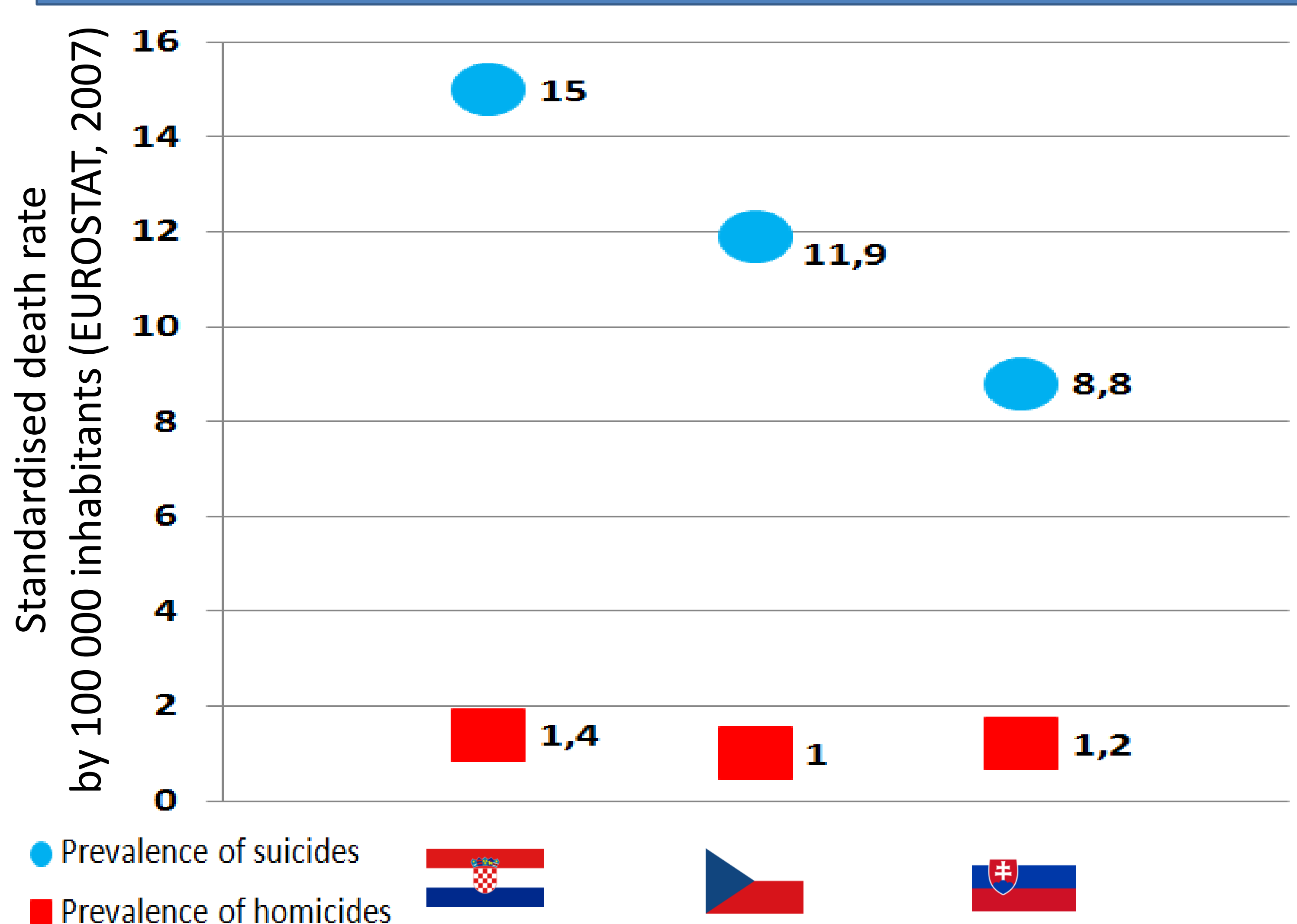
Coverage of suicide and homicide acts committed by mentally ill people in the media is a recurrently studied topic. Frequent depictions of those acts usually contributes to stigmatization and consequent discrimination of people with mental illness. The main objective of this survey was to found out whether the occurrence of articles dealing with mental illness which are also mentioning suicidal or homicidal activity corresponds to the prevalence of those acts in the whole population.

METHODS

The study sample comprised all articles pertaining to the topic of mental illness chosen from 6 most widely read newspapers and magazines identified during five weeklong periods in 2007. The presence of suicide and homicide was assessed within the category aggressive act committed by a person with mental illness. The prevalence of suicide and homicide in population of studying countries was obtained from the Eurostat agency. 450 articles from Czech Republic, Slovak Republic and Croatia were analyzed.



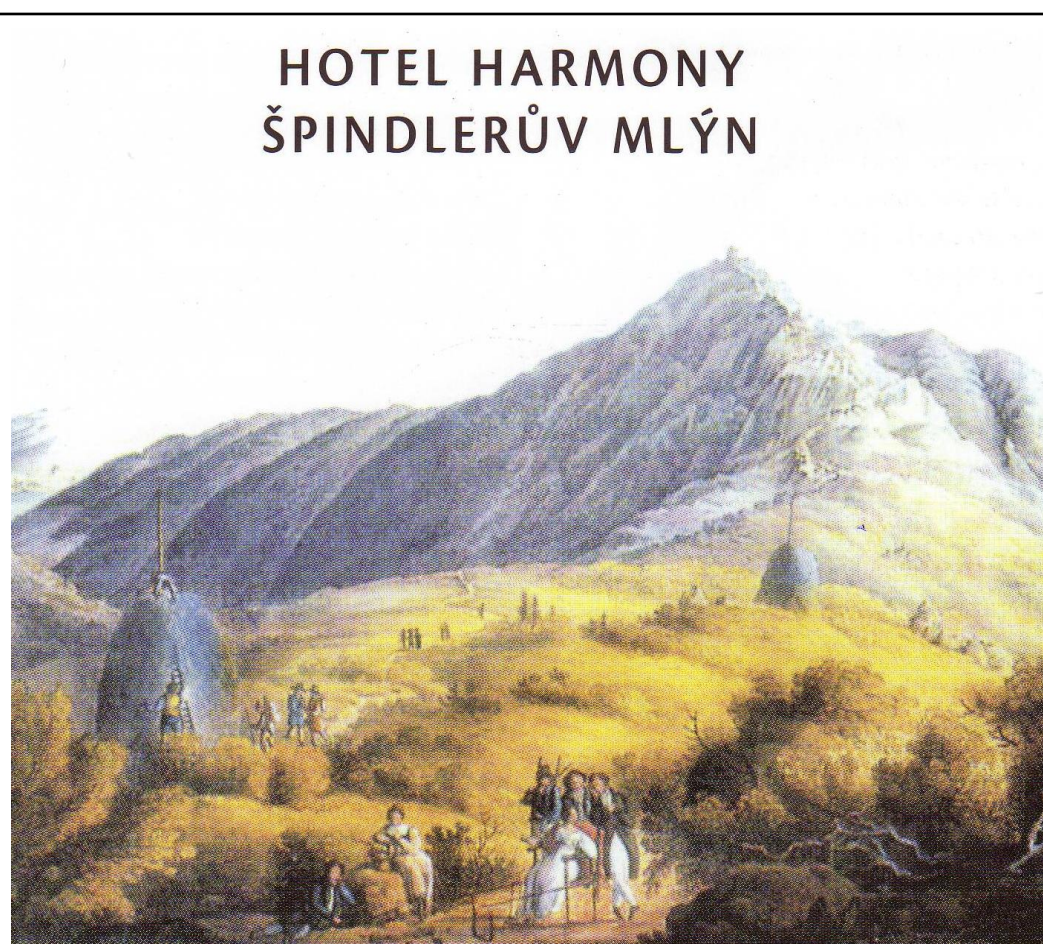
RESULTS



CONCLUSION

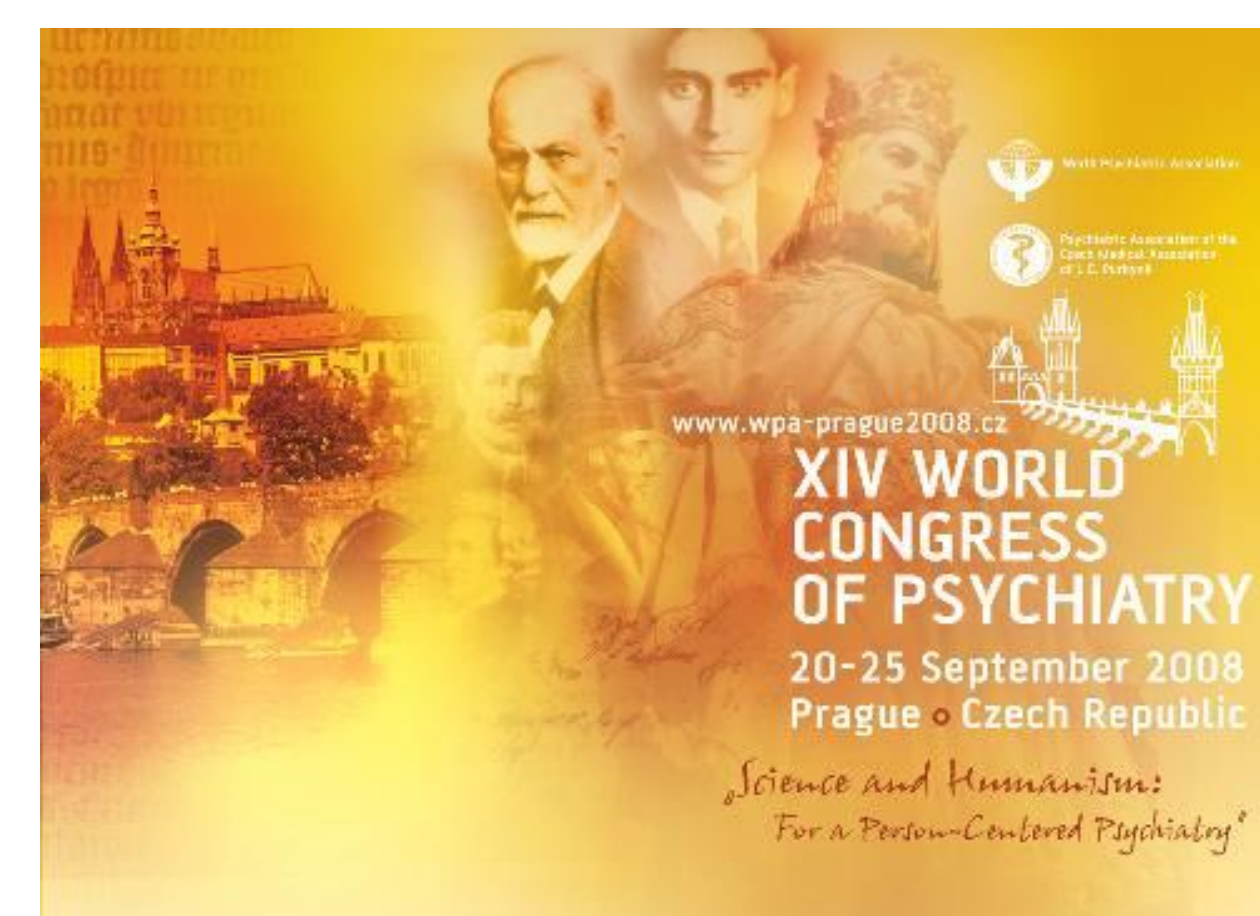
Suicidal behavior constitutes a serious public and mental health problem. Even though it's prevalence in society is ten-times higher than the prevalence of homicides and the ratio in the subpopulation of mentally ill people should be even more distinct, in contrast, the coverage of homicides committed by mentally ill people outnumbers the suicide ones almost five-fold.

Vítejte ve
Šindlerově
Mlýně



QUO VADIS, PSYCHIATRIA?

Inzerce



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PÁTEK 13. ČERVNA 2008

VI. Sjezd Psychiatrické společnosti ČLS JEP

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P. Vondráčková², A. Nawka¹



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Obraz duševních poruch v českých tištěných médiích

Úvod - Je známo, že média významně přispívají ke stigmatizaci duševních poruch. Role masmédií spočívá především v tom, že představují prostředníka mezi publikem a skutečností, která je tomuto publiku nedostupná. Pokud příjemci nemají s popisovanou skutečností vlastní zkušenost a média pro ně představují jediný zdroj

informací, pak je velmi pravděpodobné, že přijmou to, co média nabízejí (DeFleur, Ballová – Rokeachová, 1996).

Dle výzkumů v zahraničí zobrazují média osoby s duševní poruchou zkresleně. Zdůrazňují bizarní charakteristiky nemoci a dané jedince popisují v kontextu sociálních ztroskotanců a násilníků (Wahl, 1992).

Také z novějších výzkumů vyplývá, že lidé s duševní poruchou jsou často zobrazováni jako nebezpeční a neoblíbení jedinci, kterým chybí vlastní sociální identita (Stout a kol., 2004). Cílem našeho projektu je analýza mediálních sdělení s tematikou duševních poruch s ohledem na jejich stigmatizační potenciál.

Metodika

Výzkumný soubor tvoří tištěná mediální sdělení publikovaná v roce 2007 vztahující se k tématu duševních poruch, která jsou zpracována metodou obsahové analýzy.

Monitorováno bylo šest nejčtenějších deníků (Blesk, MF Dnes, Právo, Aha!, Lidové noviny, Šíp). Sledovaným obdobím bylo náhodně vybraných pět týdnů za rok 2007. Ke sběru dat byla použita databáze monitorovacího systému Newton. Analyzovanou jednotkou je článek vybraný podle přítomnosti následujících klíčových slov: *demence**, *dementní**, *schizofreni**, *psychóza**, *psychotik**, *deprese**, *depresivn**, *maniodepresivní**, *mánie*, *úzkostn* poruch**, *neuroti{k,c}**, *anorexi**, *bulími**, *retardace**, *psychiatr**, *duševní**, *psychiatrick**,



ROZHOVORY S NOVINÁŘI.

Součástí projektu je rovněž spolupráce s redaktory nejčtenějších tištěných periodik.

*antidpresiv**, *halucinac**, *psychoterapeut**, *psychoterapi**, *neuróza**, *psycholog**, *psycholožk**, *narkoman**, *alkoholík**. Vybrané články jsou škálovány pomocí kódovacího manuálu, který zahrnuje:

- identifikační údaje – název periodika, typ periodika, datum vydání, název článku, strana, počet slov, zdroje informací, zastoupení diagnóz

- proměnné vztahující se ke stigmatu – senzacechtivost, sociální začlenění, souvislost s agresivitou, přítomnost celebrity, zavádějící informace, celkový dojem (titulek), celkový dojem (článek).

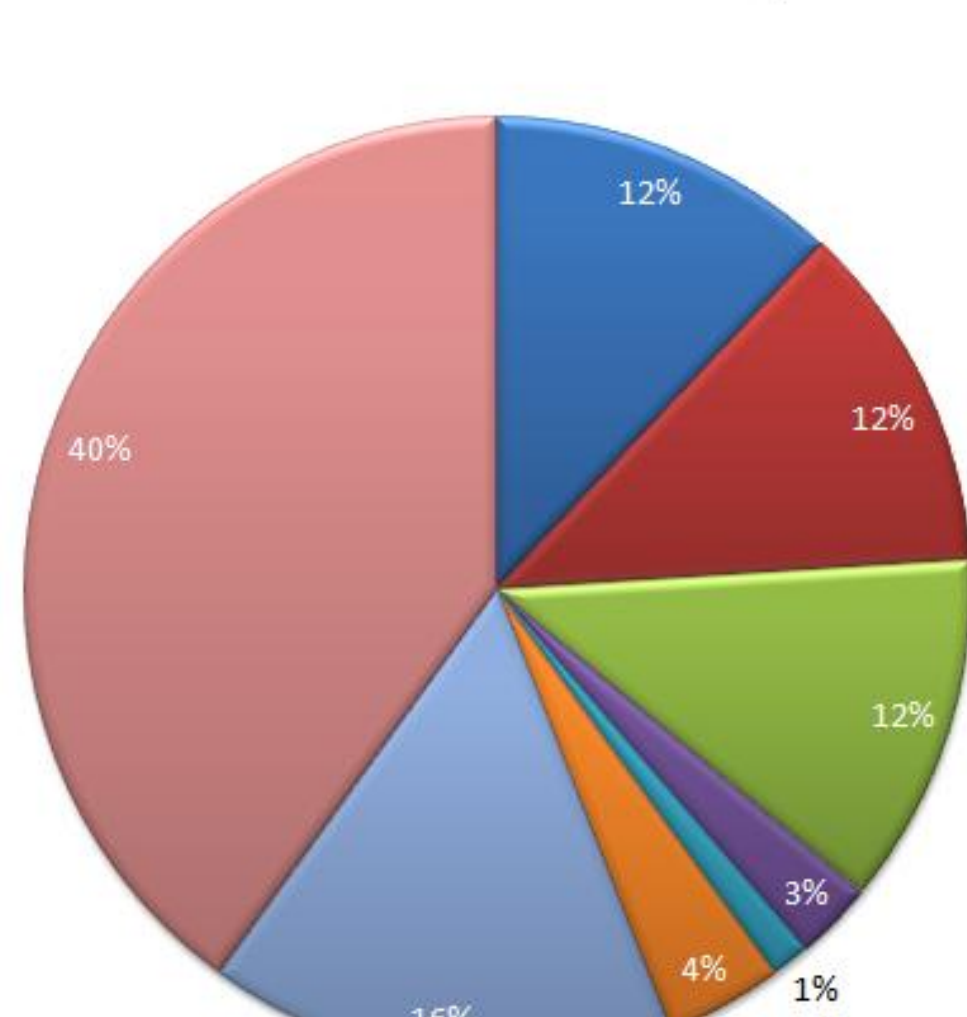
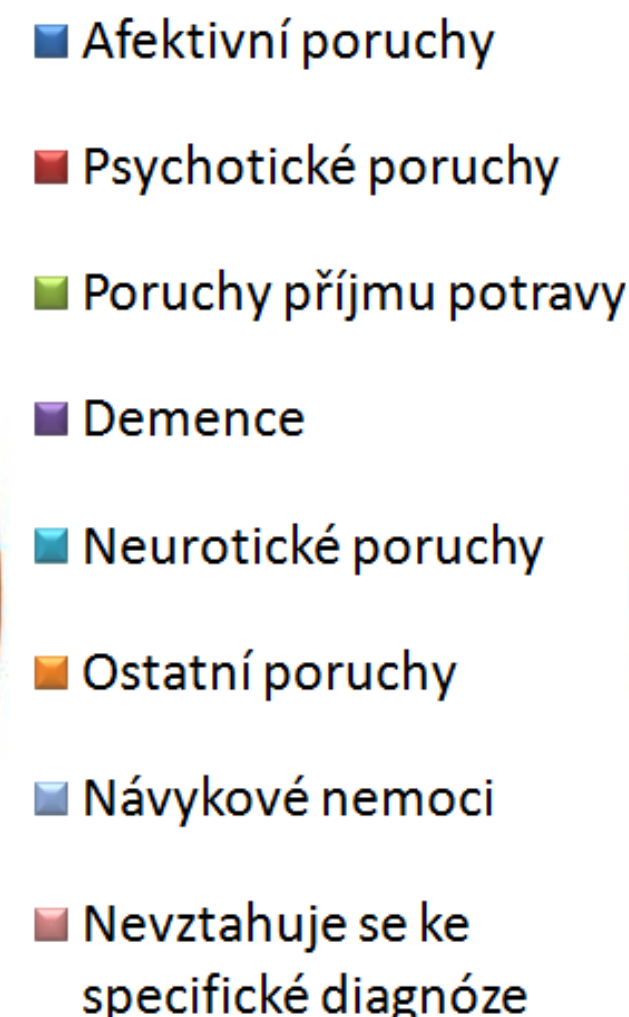
Články byly hodnoceny třemi posuzovateli, jedním psychiatrem a dvěma psychology.

Výsledky analýzy 184 článků

Zastoupení diagnóz v člancích

Seriózní deníky

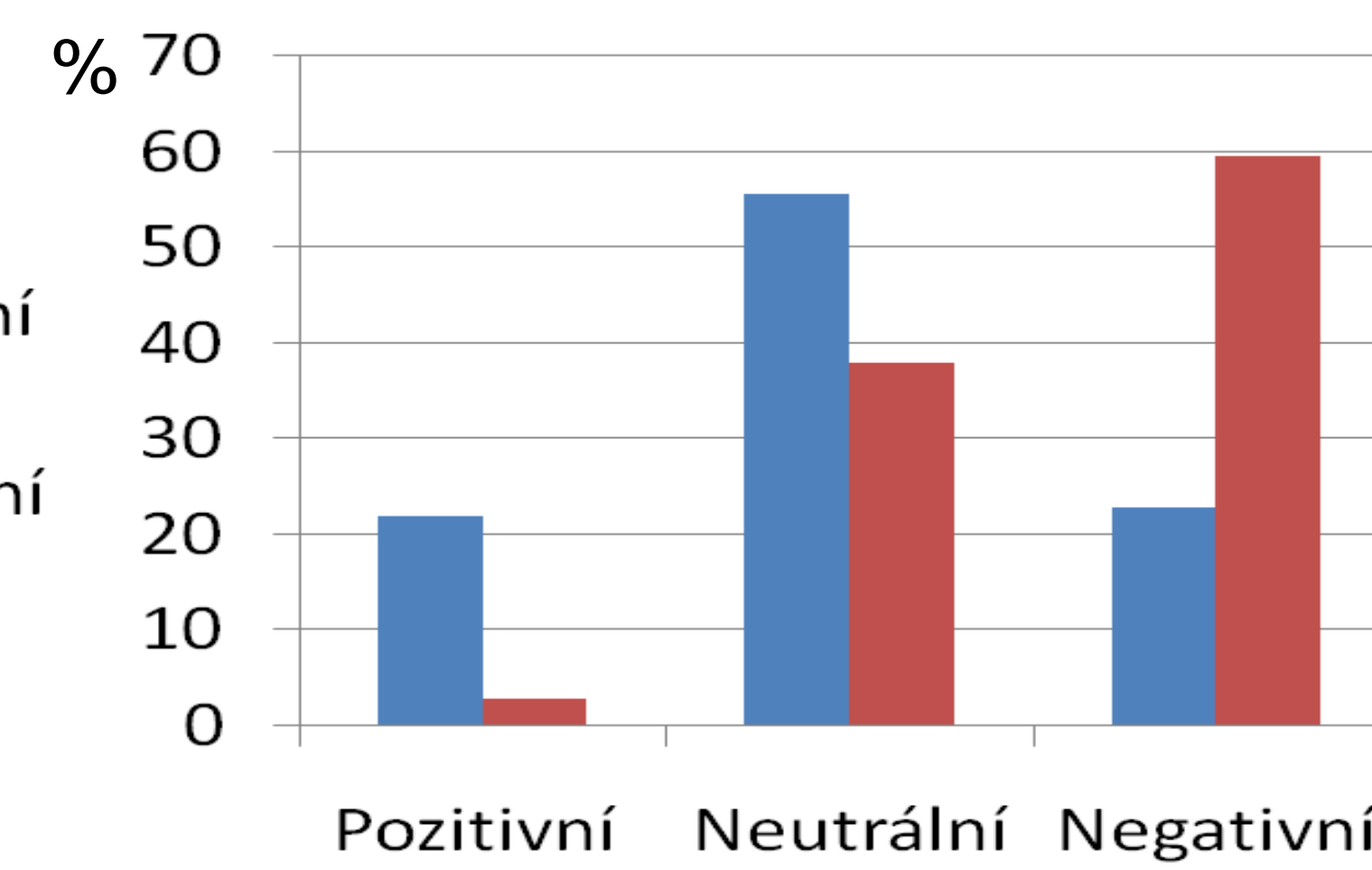
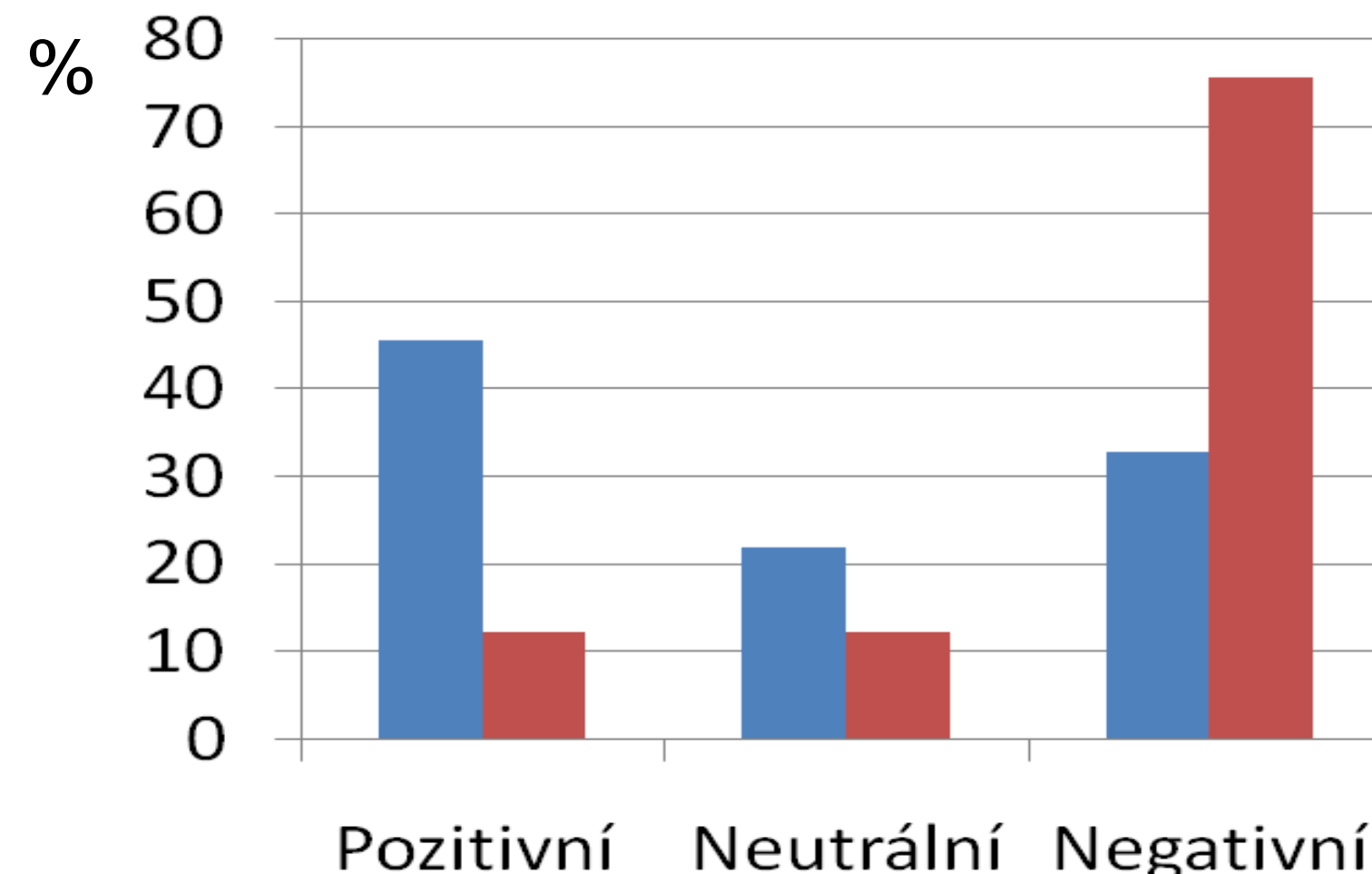
Bulvární deníky



Celkový dojem

Článek

Titulek



Shrnutí projektu

Počasí
Špindlerův Mlýn

Dnes:



12/28 °C

Zítřka:



11/24 °C

Hodnoceny byly články publikované během 5 týdnů roku 2007 (12, 13, 26, 38 a 49), ve kterých bylo téma duševních poruch či duševního zdraví hlavním obsahem. Celkem bylo nalezeno 184 článků, z toho 110 v seriózních denících, dále SD (MF Dnes, Právo, Lidové noviny) a 74 v bulvárních denících, dále BD

(Blesk, Aha!, Šíp). Z diagnóz byly v SD nejčastěji zastoupeny návykové nemoci (26%), následovaly afektivní poruchy (8%). V BD bylo zastoupení diagnóz vyváženější, návykové nemoci byly tématem 16% článků, afektivní poruchy, psychotické poruchy a poruchy příjmu potravy byly shodně uvedeny ve 12% článků. V obou typech

deníků byly nejméně často zmiňovány neurotické poruchy a demence. Téma 46% článků SD a 40% článků BD se nevztahovalo k určité diagnóze.

Celkové vyznění titulku bylo negativní ve 22,5% sdělení SD a v 59,5% sdělení v BD. Celkové vyznění článku bylo negativní v 32,5% sdělení SD a v 75,5% sdělení BD.

Uvedené výsledky se týkají pouze krátkého časového období, naznačují však, že míra stigmatizace duševních poruch je v českých tištěných médiích vysoká a je třeba se touto problematikou zabývat.

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OBRAZ PORUCH PŘÍJMU POTRAVY V ČESKÝCH TIŠTĚNÝCH MÉDIÍCH

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ÚVOD

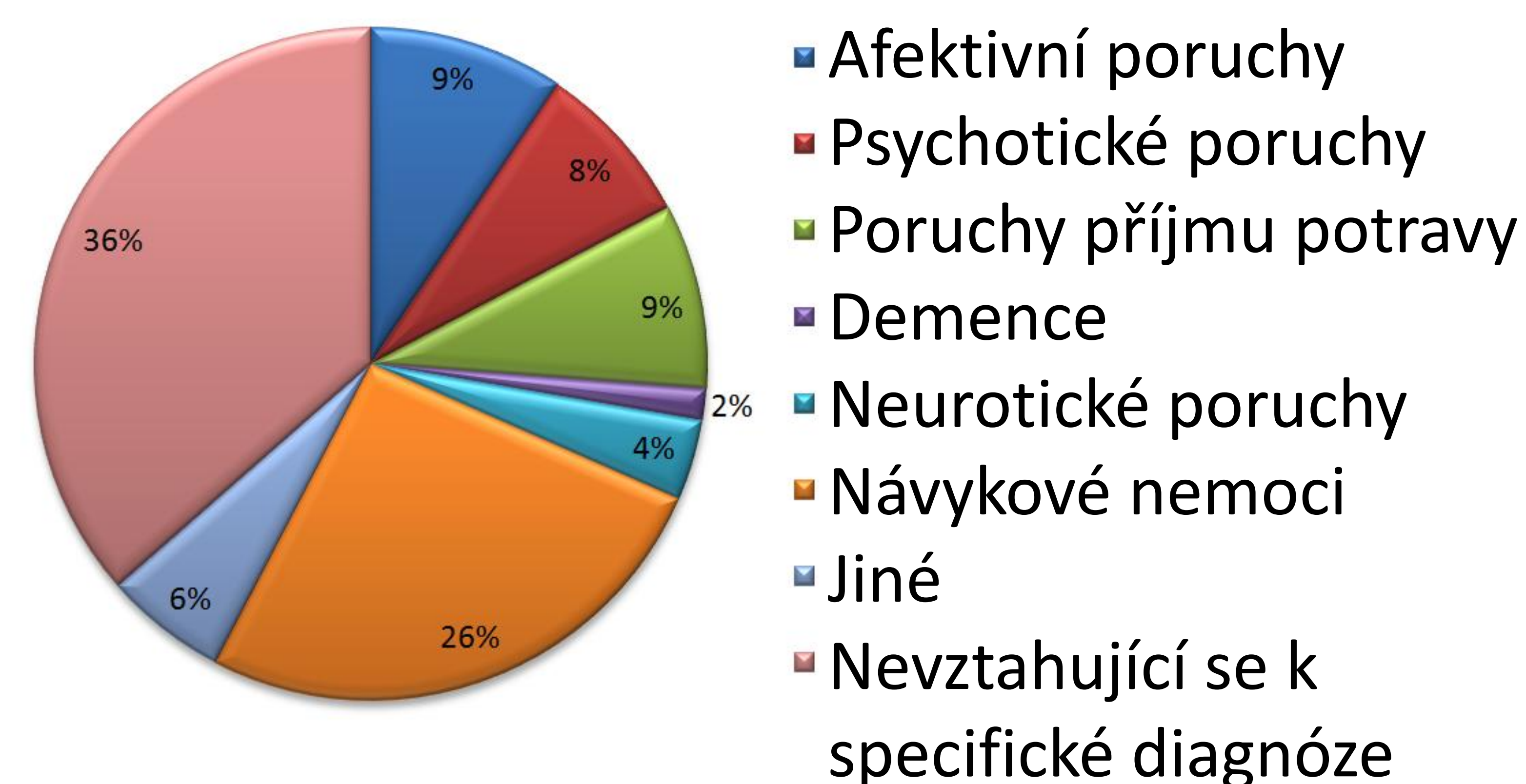
Média představují pro veřejnost primární zdroj informací o lidech s duševní poruchou. Mnohé studie potvrdily, že média často zobrazují osoby s duševní poruchou zkresleně, zdůrazňují bizarní charakteristiky nemoci a osoby popisují v kontextu sociálních ztroskotanců a násilníků (Coverdale et al., 2002). Naopak studie zabývající se obsahem mediálních sdělení týkajících se poruch příjmu potravy prokázaly, že tato sdělení převážně odpovídají vědeckým poznatkům a jsou tak méně stigmatizující než články pojednávající o ostatních duševních poruchách (Mondini et al., 1996).

METODIKA

Výzkumný soubor tvoří tištěná mediální sdělení publikovaná v roce 2007 týkající se tématu duševních poruch, která jsou zpracována metodou obsahové analýzy. Monitorováno bylo šest nejčtenějších deníků a šest nejčtenějších týdeníků. Sledovaným obdobím bylo náhodně vybraných pět týdnů za rok 2007(12,13,26,38 a 49). Ke sběru dat byla použita databáze monitorovacího systému Newton, články byly vybrány podle přítomnosti klíčových slov vztahujících se k tématu psychiatrie a duševních poruch.

Tab. 1 Výskyt agresivního jednání u jednotlivých typů duševních poruch (%)		Typ agresivního jednání				
		Suicidální jednání / sebepoškozování	Vražda	Fyz.napadení	Agresivita vůči předmětům	Bez agresivity
Typ duševní poruchy	Psychotické poruchy	6	38	31	6	19
	Afektivní poruchy	26	11	0	0	63
	Poruchy příjmu potravy	0	0	0	0	100
	Návykové nemoci	5	8	6	4	77

Graf 1. Zastoupení diagnóz v článcích



VÝSLEDKY

Celkem bylo nalezeno 203 článků, ve kterých bylo téma duševních poruch či duševního zdraví hlavním obsahem. Z diagnóz byly nejčastěji zastoupeny návykové nemoci (26%), následovaly afektivní poruchy (9%) a poruchy příjmu potravy (9%) - Graf 1. Agresivní jednání bylo uvedeno v 81% článků pojednávajících o psychotických poruchách a ve 37% článků o afektivních poruchách, naopak v článcích týkajících se poruch příjmu potravy žádný typ agresivního jednání uveden nebyl – Tab.1. Celkové vyznění článků pojednávajících o poruchách příjmu potravy bylo pozitivní v 53% a negativní ve 26% sdělení, zbytek tvořily články s neutrálním celkovým vyzněním.

ZÁVĚR

Výsledky naší studie prokázaly, že články pojednávající o poruchách příjmu potravy jsou ve srovnání s články o ostatních duševních poruchách méně stigmatizující, nedávají psychické onemocnění do souvislosti s agresivitou a častěji obsahují názor odborníka. Uvedené výsledky jsou předběžné a týkají se pouze krátkého časového období. Naznačují však, že míra stigmatizace duševních poruch obecně je v českých tištěných médiích vysoká a je potřeba se touto problematikou dále zabývat.

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OBRAZ DUŠEVNÍCH ONEMOCNĚNÍ V ČESKÉM, SLOVENSKÉM A CHORVATSKÉM TISKU

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ÚVOD: Tištěná média patří stále, i v době internetu, mezi nejčastější zdroje informací o duševním zdraví (Anderson, 2003). Mnoho studií zabývajících se obrazem duševních onemocnění v tisku prokázalo, že jsou tato vyobrazení často negativní a média tak významně přispívají ke stigmatizaci lidí s duševním onemocněním (Olstead, 2002; Joyal, 2007). Hlavním cílem této mezinárodní studie bylo zjistit, jaký je obsah mediálních sdělení ve vztahu ke stigmatizaci duševních onemocnění ve třech uvedených státech.

METODIKA: Výzkumný soubor (Tab 1.) tvoří články týkající se tématu duševního zdraví (N=450) publikované během pěti týdnů v roce 2007 v šesti nejčtenějších denících a týdenících v každém státě (Česká republika, Slovenská republika a Chorvatsko). Mediální sdělení byla zpracována metodou obsahové analýzy. Ke sběru dat byla použita databáze monitorovacího systému Newton, články byly vybrány podle přítomnosti klíčových slov vztahujících se k tématu psychiatrie a duševních poruch.

Stát	Deníky	Týdeníky	Celkem
	190	13	203
	70	5	75
	149	23	172
Celkem	409	41	450

Tab 1. Základní soubor (zastoupení článků v denících a týdenících)

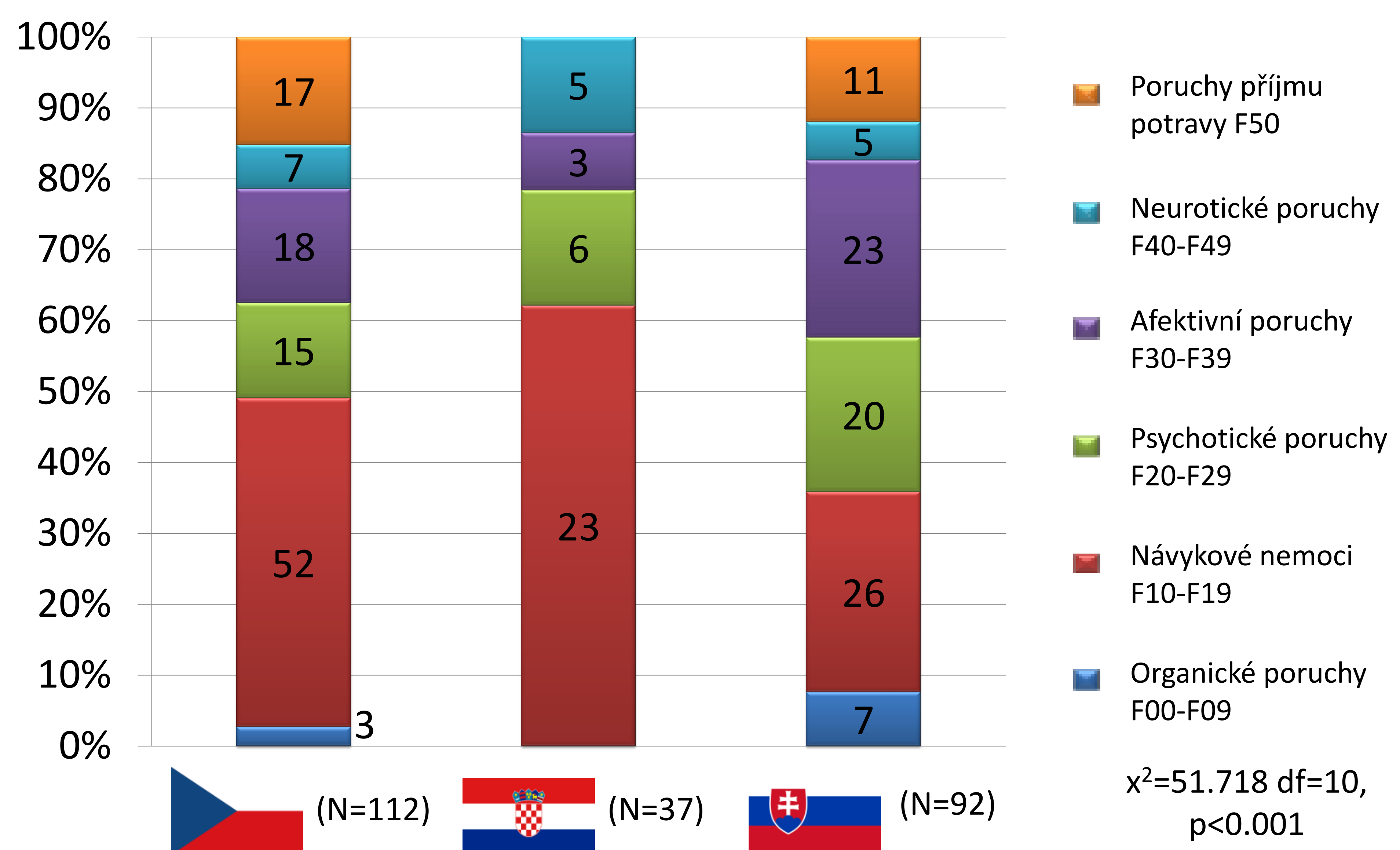
VÝSLEDKY: Mezi nejčastěji zmiňované diagnózy patřily ve všech třech státech návykové nemoci (Graf 1.), velká část článků se k žádnému konkrétnímu typu duševní poruchy nevztahovala. Agresivní chování bylo uváděno v souvislosti s osobami s duševním onemocněním v 49,3% článků v Chorvatsku, ve 24,6% článků v České republice a 40,1% článků na Slovensku. Lidé s duševním onemocněním byli prezentováni převážně jako nebezpeční jedinci, často jako pachatelé vraždy či fyzického napadení (Graf 2.).

ZÁVĚR: Způsoby, jakými média pojednávají o otázkách duševního zdraví, se v jednotlivých zemích poněkud liší, obecně však mají nízkou úroveň. Na základě našich zjištění mohou být praktická doporučení pro novináře vypracována zvlášť pro každou zemi.

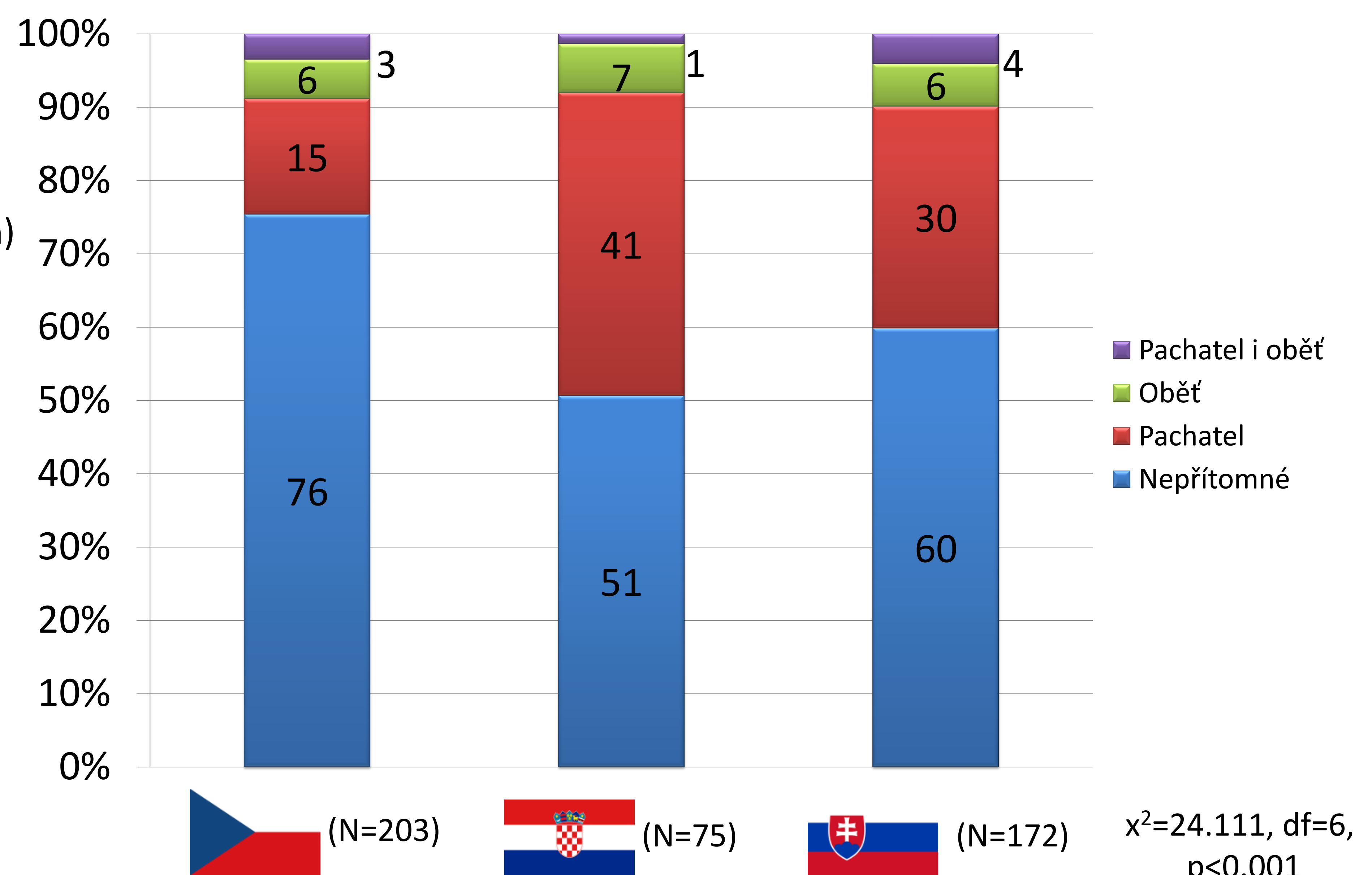
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Graf 1. Zastoupení hlavních psychiatrických diagnostických skupin (pouze články, ve kterých byly tyto diagnózy zmíněny)



Graf 2. Role osoby s duševním onemocněním v agresivním jednání